June 1995, Volume XXXII, Number 2

Fourth World Conference on Women Beijing, China 4-15 September 1995

ARTWORK by TING SHAO KUANG

OUR COVER

Reaching for the future . . .

Arms stretched skyward, the graceful image on our front cover can be seen to symbolize all the world's women, reaching towards the goals of equality, development and peace—the central themes of the Fourth World Conference on Women, to be convened in September in Beijing.

Painted on handmade paper in vibrant colours by renowned Chinese artist Ting Shao Kuang, the work is a purposeful marriage of ancient art customs, masterful brush strokes, and calligraphic lines, mixed with the starkness and beauty of modernism. The original painting, entitled "Religion & Peace", was commissioned by the World Federation of United Nations Associations (WFUNA) as a limited edition print to be made available on 5 September in conjunction with a special UN stamp issue, also designed by Mr. Ting, commemorating the Fourth Women's Conference. Both the Beijing gathering and the body of Mr. Ting's work reflect a reverence for women and their prominent, irrefutable role in securing the future for all members of society.

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Contents

Covering the period
January through April 1995

Haiti in transition p. 4

WORLD SUMMIT
FOR SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT

Social Development Summit, Copenhagen p. 56

Somalia: Peace-keepers depart p. 14

UN CHRONICLE

Volume XXXII Number 2 June 1995

A QUARTERLY RECORD OF UN ACTION AND EVENTS

Cover Section

39 **Fourth World Conference on Women:** Seeking equality, development, peace

Political News

4 **Haiti:** UNMIH replaces multinational force
7 **El Salvador:** Mission accomplished
8 **Guatemala:** Encouraging progress
9 **Burundi:** Ethnic killings deplored
10 **Rwanda:** Camp situation 'dangerous'
14 **Somalia:** Leaving 'without a hitch'
18 **Angola:** New verification mission
19 **Mozambique:** International support needed
20 **Liberia:** Peace process at standstill
21 **Western Sahara:** Referendum in 1996?
21 **Libya:** Sanctions to stay in place
22 **Middle East:** Confidence-building 'arduous'
23 **Former Yugoslavia:** Three separate operations
28 **Former Soviet Republics:** Chechnya cease-fire urged
29 **Tajikistan, Afghanistan:** Developments
30 **Georgia:** Observer mission extended
31 **Iraq:** Oil sales approved
34 **Peace-keeping:** 'Agenda for Peace' Supplement
37 **Disarmament:** 1995 Conference opens

Other Issues

52 **Human Rights:** Anti-racism conference proposed
56 **Social Development Summit:** Round-up
59 **Refugees:** Host countries challenged
62 **Population:** Following up on Cairo
68 **Narcotic drugs:** Commission action
69 **Energy:** New initiatives sought
71 **Environment:** Fisheries conference progress
72 **Law of the Sea:** No agreement on Council membership
73 **UN Law Congress:** A new 'language'
74 **Charter Committee:** 'Enemy State' clauses discussed

Features

49 San Francisco hosts UN 50th anniversary celebrations
60 Development Cooperation in Peril: UNDP Administrator Speth
64 A Camera's-Eye View: Our 'Material World'
66 'The Waters Run Red': Cocaine control patrol

In Every Issue

2 **The 38th Floor**
50 **A Look Back:** 'A Great Moment in History' The Signing of the UN Charter, 26 June 1945
75 **News Almanac**
78 **BookWatch** The 'Blue Books': Recording a UN Legacy
80 **Coming Up**

The 38th Floor

Following are excerpts from statements by UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali made between 1 January and 31 March 1995.

UN Photo

In March, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali met with former Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar, who reported on the work of the World Commission on Cultural Development, of which he is Chairman.

The peace-keeping challenge . . .

The cycle of conflict now taking place must be contained. Resources are limited. We must make the most of what we have. The Member States must fight off fatigue, indifference or the temptation to withdraw. They must meet their financial obligations to the United Nations. At the same time, they have a right to demand that the Organization deliver top performance with the funds available. I am determined that will be the case.

Among all the new techniques which the United Nations must learn, one of them must be the necessity of timely withdrawal. The United Nations must stay the course when peace and security require it. But it cannot indulge parties to a conflict who do not want peace. If this is realized, it could prove beneficial to serious negotiations. It could strengthen diplomacy. The withdrawal of a peace operation while conflict continues need not be considered a failure. On the contrary, it can become a new approach to the problem. In Somalia, United Nations involvement continues. In Angola, troops were withdrawn but conditions changed, and a new contingent may soon return.

We must create a division of labour for peace-keeping. Obviously, difficulties can arise: unity of command and control; coordination; costs; interpretation of the mandate; questions of whether the United Nations should be impartial or undertake enforcement. All are serious questions; they are not easy to answer. But we are working out the solutions, case by case. When regional actors and the United Nations work together, the material, financial and logistic strain on the United Nations is eased. A division of labour in peace-keeping is a matter of better management.

This is a time of great promise and of great expectations. But it is also a time when reality on the ground can be grim. In one dangerous place after another in the world it is the United Nations forces who face reality on the ground. It is time for rhetoric to match reality. Those who care about peace and those capable of making it and keeping it need to cooperate. The enemies of peace are many. Those who share a better vision must find a better way to work together. This is the task which history has given us.

From an address at Yale University, New Haven, Connecticut, 21 March

The evil of discrimination . . .

The international community has worked hard to combat racial discrimination since the foundation of the United Nations. It is essential that we build on this record. With renewed dedication and commitment, we can create the world of peace and prosperity envisioned in the Charter 50 years ago.

Today, we can see that progress has been made. Apartheid is finished. There is a greater awareness of the evil of discrimination. But at the same time, much remains to be done. Vast political and technological changes around the globe have brought new opportunities for understanding between peoples, but they have also brought economic and social uncertainty. In this climate, some have sought security in smaller and more exclusive racial and ethnic groupings, leading to social marginalization, suffering and conflict.

During this fiftieth anniversary year, it is important that we recognize that racial tolerance is fundamental to achieving the goals of the Charter. It is vital to assuring international security; human rights; the international rule of law; and social and economic development. Many elements of society can help to promote tolerance. The United Nations offers a medium of communication between cultures, and a resource for Member States to study each other's strategies for accommodating diversity. National governments can create structures to protect minorities. The media can foster awareness of the common ties of humanity that span different racial groups.

On the International Day for the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, New York, 21 March

Seeking their full potential . . .

The problems faced by women worldwide lie at the heart of the global agenda. Until the rights and full potential of women are achieved, enduring solutions to many of the world's most serious social, economic and political problems are unlikely to come about. Efforts to improve the lives of the women of the world offer in many cases the most immediately efficacious means of changing entire societies for the better.

Twenty years after the First World Conference on Women set out the three themes of equality, peace and development, the Beijing Conference offers an opportunity to assess the continuing obstacles to women's advancement. Building upon the series of landmark conferences and summits held in the first half of this decade—on children's rights, the environment, human rights, natural disasters, population and social development—Beijing offers us an opportunity to achieve a concrete programme of action for progress into the next century.

In the global effort for peace and enduring progress, the promotion and protection of women's rights are central. Success in these tasks means progress for everyone: young and old; men, women and children. There is no better way to open the second half-century of the United Nations than by ensuring equality, peace and development for women by the opening of the twenty-first century.

On International Women's Day, New York, 8 March

The imperative of democracy . . .

From the very first sentence of its preamble, the United Nations Charter suggests, implicitly but strongly, not only the advent of a global, transnational society, but also the need for a collective, democratic project. Fifty years after its drafting, the time has come for us to ask ourselves what has become of the Charter's promises.

First of all, we have clearly entered the era of a global society. In the economic sphere, through the combined effects of technological progress, rationalization of management methods and optimization of productivity, major corporations are becoming increasingly globalized and are forming networks among each other. In the financial sphere, with deregulation, the end of exchange controls, financial innovation and advances in telecommunications, the financial world has become effectively globalized. In the information sphere, news and data can instantaneously be transmitted worldwide.

These massive changes are making States and international public opinion aware that some problems of our common future are essentially transnational in scope. Whether it is a question of protecting the environment, controlling population growth, combating AIDS or cracking down on transnational crime, it is clear that all these issues must be dealt with globally and can only, to a very limited extent, be tackled at the level of individual nation States. But we are also aware that the phenomenon of globalization is fraught with risks and a potential source of distress, for the global economy carries with it many dangers. Among other things, it can destroy traditional bonds of solidarity and marginalize countries and even entire regions, further widening the gap between rich and poor.

This situation obviously has its risks. War, exclusion, hatred and ethnic or religious strife always feed on such a climate, and irrational, fanatical beliefs are always at hand to offer mistaken solutions to peoples in distress. This gives us a compelling obligation to reflect on a new approach to collective living in order to offer States and nations, and men and women the world over, valid grounds for hope.

To the World Economic Forum, Davos, Switzerland, 26 January

Multinational Force replaced by UN peace-keepers

Special transition ceremony held on 31 March

UN Photo 189347/E. Schneider

Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali, Haitian President Aristide, and United States President Clinton *(front, right to left)* at the ceremony marking the transfer of command from the Multinational Force to the United Nations Mission in Haiti.

"This is a great day for Haiti . . . and for the United Nations", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared on 31 March in Port-au-Prince, as the Multinational Force (MNF) handed over its responsibility to the United Nations Mission in Haiti (UNMIH), a move sanctioned by Security Council resolution 975 (1995) of 30 January. Presiding with Presidents Jean-Bertrand Aristide of Haiti and William Clinton of the United States over special ceremonies in the capital city to celebrate the event, the Secretary-General said the occasion was a "turning point in the international effort to bring peace, stability and justice to the Haitian people", a day marking the "high point of successful cooperation" between the UN and a coalition of Member States, led by the United States.

As the UN took over, he went on, two factors remained vital: the people of Haiti must maintain their commitment to rebuild their society; and UN Member States must continue to "support this revitalization of the multilateral ideal".

Five years of UN involvement

The 31 March ceremonies capped more than five years of active UN involvement in Haiti, including overseeing the country's first democratic elections in December 1990, the complex negotiations after Mr. Aristide's ouster in September 1991, human rights verification and provision of humanitarian aid, imposition of sanctions, and the dispatch of the MNF in September 1994 to pave the way for Aristide's restoration to power. The Haitian President returned to the island-nation on 15 October 1994.

In his 31 March speech, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said that although the international community was willing to assist in ensuring the security of legislative and local elections, scheduled for June 1995, as well as the presidential elections in autumn, it was the Haitian people themselves who must "buckle down to the task of rebuilding their country on new foundations, which must take charge of their own destiny".

Operation "Uphold Democracy"—the title given to the MNF— had "lived up to its name". The fact that President Clinton had attended the ceremony was an "expression of successful cooperation" between the United States and the UN, the Secretary-General declared.

"If the world seeks a model for the future, it may find one here", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said later in the day, at a lunch with President Clinton. "When Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Winston Churchill created the term 'United Nations', a day like this, I believe, is what they had in mind".

On arrival in Haiti on 30 March, the Secretary-General was briefed on the country's situation by his Special Representative, Lakhdar Brahimi, and the UNMIH Force Commander, Major-General Joseph Kinzer.

Special Representative Brahimi had expressed "shock and indignation" at the assassination on 28 March of Mireille Durochar-Bertin, a Haitian lawyer and political opponent of President Aristide.

"Those who want to perpetuate the reign of violence and prevent Haiti from moving forward on the path to democracy and progress are condemned in advance", Mr. Brahimi stated. He expressed confidence that the Haitian people would "not react to provocations", and pledged the international community's full support in their work to transform Haiti.

Resolution 975: Transfer of responsibility

The Security Council on 30 January, in adopting resolution 975 (1995) by a vote of 14 to none, with 1 abstention

UN troops on parade in Port-au-Prince.

UN Photo 189346/E. Schneider

(China), had authorized the Secretary-General to take the necessary steps for the full transfer of responsibility from the MNF to UNMIH by 31 March.

These included deployment of up to 6,000 troops and 900 civilian police officers, as well as "other civilian personnel sufficient to allow UNMIH to assume the full range of its functions", as established under Council resolutions 867 (1993) and 940 (1994).

In welcoming the positive developments in Haiti—including the departure of the former military leadership, the return of President Aristide and the restoration of the legitimate authorities, as envisaged in the 3 July 1993 Governors Island Agreement—the Council also extended the UNMIH mandate for a period of six months, until 31 July 1995.

Although a "secure and stable environment" now existed in Haiti, the Council recognized that the situation remained fragile and urged the Haitian Government, with the assistance of UNMIH and the international community, to "establish without delay an effective national police force and to improve the functioning of its justice system".

In that regard, the Secretary-General was asked to set up a fund through which voluntary contributions from Member States could be made available to "support the international police monitoring programme and assist with the creation of an adequate police force in Haiti".

After the vote, United States Ambassador Madeleine K. Albright declared: "Today marks a planned and important point of transition in Haiti's journey from tyranny to democracy."

The Multinational Force—created on 31 July 1994, under Council resolution 940 (1994), to establish and maintain a "secure and stable environment" within which democratic institutions could begin to function—had achieved that purpose, she said.

On 17 January, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/46)* that the security situation in Haiti had "improved considerably" since the deployment of the MNF, the "end of the de facto regime", and President Aristide's return. Indeed, Haiti had "not enjoyed this level of security for a very long time", he added.

However, he added, there was "no room for complacency". A 12 January incident—in which an MNF member and "his Haitian attacker" who had refused to pay a toll on highway 100 in Gonaives had lost their lives—was a reminder that "everyone needs to be alert at all times, and that utmost care must be the order of the day", the Secretary-General warned.

Also, there were "still all too many crimes", albeit not politically motivated, including murders, armed robberies, beatings and rapes, with perpetrators seldom caught or managing all too often "to regain their freedom without proper investigation and due process", he reported.

> “The overwhelming majority of Haitians wanted freedom and security”

Nevertheless, everything suggested that the overwhelming majority of Haitians were "determined to defend their newly recovered freedom" and would oppose with determination any attempt to bring them back to the "hated past of intimidation, exploitation and humiliation", Mr. Boutros-Ghali concluded.

On 18 January, the 27 States members of the MNF, in informing *(S/1995/55)* the Security Council that a "secure and stable environment" now existed in Haiti, had suggested that UNMIH might "begin assuming the full range of its functions".

More than 30,000 weapons had been either seized or bought back through weapons control programmes since the beginning of the MNF in September 1994, it was reported *(S/1994/211)* on 20 March. The MNF "continued to project a presence throughout the country, with all missions being well received by the population".

The report stated that the "safest carnival season in at least eight years came to a successful conclusion in Port-au-Prince, with crowds of 750,000 gathering peacefully".

An increase in the number of murders in Port-au-Prince from 12 to 14 March had been mostly the "result of petty criminals receiving summary 'justice' from the people on the scene", with "no evidence" that those crimes were "interrelated, coordinated or politically motivated", the MNF reported.

Nevertheless, the Force had increased security to humanitarian agency food convoys, continued efforts with regard to the overall improvement and acceptance of the Interim Public Security Forces, and worked closely with the International Civilian Mission in Haiti (MICIVIH) in analyzing human rights and prison reform issues.

Between 26 September 1994 and 20 March 1995, the United States submitted 13 reports to the Council on MNF activities. Overall, the situation had evolved from "relatively quiet" with some incidents of violence on 10 October, to one of "continued security and stability" by 9 January. It remained as such until the end of March.

A prestigious four-man mission reported on 26 February that Haiti was "secure and plans were well under way for parliamentary and local elections in June". Its members were former United States President Jimmy Carter, former Belize Prime Minister George Price, United States Senator Sam Nunn and retired General Colin Powell, who undertook a three-day visit to meet with Haitian officials and observe the progress of reforms.

On 31 January, an aid package totalling some $900 million for 12 to 15 months, was pledged in Paris at the first international donor meeting for Haiti. Future projects included repairs of road, police headquarters, prisons, water, sewage and electricity systems, and distribution of school supplies and food. ■

ONUSAL: Mission accomplished

Verification group set up

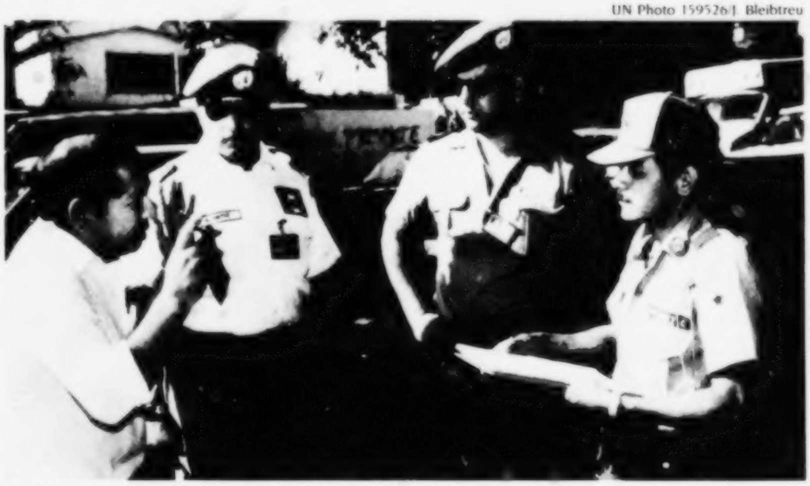
Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared that El Salvador had "moved decisively away from the violence and divisions of the past, towards a society based on peace, democracy and human rights". Although the mandate of the UN Observer Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL) was ending on 30 April and that operation was to leave the country 45 months after the initial human rights observers had been deployed, the UN work was "not yet complete", the Secretary-General stated on 1 April, at a dinner hosted by Salvadoran President Calderón Sol in the capital city of San Salvador.

A small team would remain in El Salvador "to continue its observation of the areas of the peace agreement that remain outstanding", he added.

ONUSAL would be remembered by Salvadorans, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said, not only for its peace-keeping work, but also for monitoring human rights and national elections, observing the disarmament process, demobilization and land resettlement programmes, training of judges and police officers, as well as its development projects to "bring clean water to distant villages, to train health workers or to improve crops".

But the essence was "greater than the sum of these parts", the Secretary-General stressed. The UN mission was to bring "peace . . . through justice, human rights, democracy and development", allowing people to "realize their own potential in freedom".

UN Photo 159526/J. Bleibtreu



ONUSAL observers provided training for Salvadoran police. *Above*, investigating a traffic violation.

Established under Security Council resolution 693 (1991) of 20 May 1991 as a human rights monitoring mission, ONUSAL was the "first international mission to undertake verification within a sovereign United Nations Member State, prior to a cease-fire agreement", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said. It later became multidimensional and "pioneered the second generation" of UN peace-keeping operations.

The Council on 23 November 1994 decided, by its resolution 961 (1994), that ONUSAL's withdrawal was to be completed by 30 April 1995.

The Council, in a 17 February letter *(S/1995/144)*, welcomed the Secretary-General's proposal to put in place, following the disbandment of ONUSAL, a mechanism to enable the UN to "continue to discharge its responsibilities without interruption", as requested by the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN)—the signatories to the 1992 peace agreements.

In recommending the establishment of a small team for an initial six-month period, the Secretary-General on 6 February had also proposed *(S/1995/143)* that its capability should be to "provide good offices, to verify implementation of the outstanding points on the peace agreements and to provide a continuing flow of accurate and reliable information".

In his view, such a step was essential, since a "somewhat disquieting situation" still existed in El Salvador.

On 24 March, the Secretary-General informed *(S/1995/220)* the Council that the areas requiring verification included: the completion of agreements on land transfer and other reintegration programmes; approval of legislative measures recommended by the Commission on the Truth in March 1993; and strengthening of the National Civil Police, the National Counsel for the Defence of Human Rights, the judiciary and the electoral system.

Overall, he went on, ONUSAL had helped El Salvador to take "giant strides away from a violent and closed society towards a democratic order. . . . We are now entering a period during which Salvadorian institutions, strengthened and reformed pursuant to the peace accords, will have to assume their responsibilities in full", the Secretary-General stated. He hoped that the necessary legislative action "will be rapidly taken and acted upon".

As for the UN, the Secretary-General assured, it stood "ready to lend assistance in this regard". ■

'Encouraging progress' reported in peace process

Mission mandate extended by Assembly

FAO Photo/J. Littlewood

Guatemalans have "a vision of a society united in lasting peace", the Secretary-General observed.

The General Assembly on 31 March renewed for a "further period of six months" the mandate of the Mission for the Verification of Human Rights and of Compliance with the Commitments of the Comprehensive Agreement on Human Rights in Guatemala (MINUGUA). In adopting resolution 49/236, the Assembly also called upon the parties—the Government and the Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca (URNG)—to follow the recommendations of the Mission and comply fully with their commitments under the 29 March 1994 Comprehensive Agreement.

The Assembly stressed the importance of broad support for and cooperation with the Mission, set up on 19 September 1994, and in particular with respect to the security of its members.

The international community was asked to increase support for institution-building and cooperation projects intended to strengthen the human rights protection system in Guatemala, particularly through voluntary contributions to the trust fund for the Guatemalan peace process being established by the Secretary-General.

In stressing the importance of the early conclusion of the agreement on "a firm and lasting peace" in the country, the Assembly urged the parties to "make good on their commitment to give new momentum to the negotiating process".

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 2 April, during a visit to Guatemala, noted "encouraging progress" in the peace process. He said the first four months of MINUGUA, which was playing a "vital monitoring role", had gone well.

On 31 March in Mexico City, the parties had signed an agreement on identity and rights of indigenous people, he noted. "The vision which Guatemalans have cherished for years—the vision of a society united in lasting peace—is slowly becoming a reality", Mr. Boutros-Ghali observed.

"As the efforts of Guatemalans for national reconciliation continue, those efforts will continue to be backed by the international community with the United Nations as its instrument."

The presence of MINUGUA "can be an important factor both in improving the human rights situation in Guatemala and in enhancing the prospect for an early end to the armed confrontation", the Secretary-General reported *(A/49/860)* on 8 March.

The Mission—fully deployed since 28 February, with headquarters in Guatemala City, eight regional offices and five sub-offices—had a total of 211 international and 67 locally-recruited staff, and was "close to attaining its authorized strength of 245 international staff", he stated.

"Dedication and flexibility can lead quickly to agreements that constitute real advances for Guatemalan society", the Secretary-General had stressed in a 1 March report *(A/49/857-S/1995/168)*. He hoped that the parties would negotiate "in the same spirit on outstanding substantive issues".

MINUGUA Director Leonardo Franco of Argentina, in a 1 March report *(A/49/856)* containing 31 recommendations—27 addressed to the Government and 4 to UNRG—expressed concern over "numerous violations of the right to life", including cases of extrajudicial executions or deaths in violation of legal guarantees. Widespread impunity was considered the "most serious obstacle to the enjoyment of human rights in Guatemala", he said.

"However, in many different sectors of Guatemalan society, there is already a feeling that MINUGUA is doing work that is beneficial to the country. There is also an expectation that the Mission will be able to continue to promote efforts to ensure human rights, peace and national reconciliation", Mr. Franco concluded. ■

Ethnic killings force thousands from their homes

Seven-nation mission reports

The escalating violence in Burundi was the subject of Security Council action on 29 March, when it deplored ethnic killings that had caused thousands to flee their homes. "Those who commit crimes against humanity are individually responsible for their crimes and will be brought to justice", the Council declared in a statement by its President, Li Zhaoxing of China. "If acts of genocide are committed in Burundi", the Council warned, it would "consider taking appropriate measures to bring to justice under international law any who may have committed such acts".

The Council also condemned the murders of the Minister of Energy and Mines and of the former Mayor of Bujumbura, Burundi's capital, which had preceded the widespread killings.

The activities of "extremist elements who try to destabilize the country and threaten the whole region" were also condemned. States were encouraged to take measures to prevent such elements from travelling abroad and receiving support.

The Council asked Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to assist political parties and civil society to begin a "national debate with the participation of all elements of the nation" to consolidate national reconciliation and restore democracy.

"Aware of the close interconnection between various humanitarian and political problems in the region and of the risk of subsequent destabilization", the Council also called for a regional conference on peace, stability and security.

In a 9 March statement, the Council condemned the activities of those within and outside Burundi who, "by resorting to undemocratic methods such as intimidation and incitement to violence, as well as guerilla activities and subversive political activity", sought to nullify the power-sharing arrangements in the 10 September 1994 Convention of Government. Those actions "threatened peace, stability and national reconciliation", it said.

Concerned over a continuing "climate of insecurity", the Council declared that "impunity is a fundamental problem in Burundi".

> "Moderate elements have been silenced through threat and intimidation"

A strengthened national judicial system was important, it said, as was the work of an international commission of inquiry into the 1993 coup attempt and the subsequent massacres. An augmented UN presence could help train civilian police forces and establish an effective administrative presence in the provinces.

UN High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso was encouraged by the Council to reinforce the human rights office he had established in Burundi.

A Security Council mission that visited Burundi on 10 and 11 February called the political and security situation there "precarious" and "potentially explosive".

The seven-nation mission—China, the Czech Republic, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Nigeria and the United States—reported *(S/1995/163)* on 28 February that extremists had "usurped the political initiative, at the expense of moderate elements who constitute the majority of the population and have been silenced through threat and intimidation". There were "systematic and persistent efforts" by extremist forces to undermine the coalition Government.

In a 6 March letter, Burundi denied *(S/1995/185)* that the political situation was "potentially explosive". The mission had visited "at a moment of institutional crisis", it said, and the situation had since "developed in a positive direction".

On 31 January, the Council condemned the extremist groups that "continue to undermine the national reconciliation process". In a statement by Council President Emilio J. Cardenas of Argentina, it deplored calls for the overthrow of the Government. All concerned parties, in particular the national security forces, were asked to refrain from violence and to support Government institutions.

On 1 February, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali said the international community could not accept "a repetition in Burundi of the tragic events that occurred last year in Rwanda".

The report *(S/1995/157)* of a fact-finding mission to Burundi, dispatched to investigate the failed *coup d'état* of October 1993 and the subsequent massacres of a reported 50,000 to 100,000 persons, was published on 24 February. It said that the massacres were not part of a "premeditated plan for the extermination of the Tutsi ethnic group by the Hutu", but rather the consequences of the October coup and political assassinations of 21 October 1993. ■

Situation in refugee camps called 'dangerous'

Reports of "continuing intimidation and security problems" in camps for Rwandese refugees, particularly in Zaire, were the subject of grave concern by the Security Council on 10 February, when it condemned actions by former Rwandese leaders and their forces living in those camps aimed "to prevent the repatriation of refugees".

In a statement *(S/PRST/1995/7)* made by Council President Legwaila J. Legwaila of Botswana, the Council stressed that the "earliest possible action" was important in addressing the security problems. The present situation remained "dangerous for both refugees and relief workers", and was "potentially destabilizing for the subregion as a whole", it stated.

The Council also welcomed two agreements on refugees: one concluded on 27 January between the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) and Zaire to deploy 1,500 Zairian security forces and a UNHCR liaison group; the other between Zaire and Rwanda on the return of refugees and property.

UNHCR/24163/H.J.Davis

Rwandan refugees at a camp in Zaire.

Security arrangements endorsed

UNHCR efforts to put in place security arrangements in the Tanzanian camps were endorsed by the Council. UNHCR was also encouraged to address the situation in Burundi. Further measures in Rwanda were urged to ensure that refugees could return to their homes "without fear of retribution or persecution".

In that regard, the Council acknowledged the achievements of the Rwandese Government and encouraged it to continue to provide a framework for the action to be taken to repatriate the refugees, promote national reconciliation, and reinvigorate the political process. It also asked the international community to support the Government in its task.

Underlining the temporary nature of the refugee camps, the Council said that the return of refugees to their homes in Rwanda remained the ultimate goal. UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was asked to explore "all options" and make further recommendations for ensuring camp security.

Under the terms of the 27 January agreement, the Zairian military and police security personnel would assist in the maintenance of law and order in refugee camps in the Goma, Bukavu and Uvira regions.

In a 1 February letter *(S/1995/127)*, the Secretary-General said those personnel would take measures to prevent violence against and intimidation of refugees, provide protection for relief workers and for the storage and delivery of humanitarian assistance, and escort to the border of Rwanda those refugees who voluntarily chose to return to their homes.

The UN Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR) would help escort repatriated refugees to their home communities. UNHCR would establish a liaison support group, composed of experienced security advisers, to be deployed in Goma and Bukavu.

An 'unprecedented challenge'

On 25 January, the Secretary-General had cautioned that the "scope and complexity of the problems in the Rwandese refugee camps, especially those in Zaire, represent an unprecedented challenge". He reported *(S/1995/65)* that nearly 2 million Rwandese refugees remained in Burundi, the United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire.

Tripartite agreements had been signed by Rwanda with UNHCR and with the Governments of Burundi and Zaire on the voluntary repatriation of refugees, he went on. Dialogue on issues affecting the refugees in the United Republic of Tanzania and their repatriation to Rwanda was also continuing between those two countries.

Some 200,000 refugees had returned out of those who had left the country after the 6 April 1994 airplane crash that killed the Presidents of Rwanda and Burundi. The Secretary-General said the low number was due to intimidation by former government leaders, military and militia, and the refugees' fear of reprisals or of being unable to regain their property on returning.

In exploring a possible peace-keeping operation to address camp security, some 60 potential troop-contributing countries had been consulted, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said. However, as of 23 January, only one had formally offered a unit.

After a 30 November 1994 request by the Council, the Secretary-General had dispatched a joint Department of Peace-Keeping Operations/UNHCR technical mission to explore deployment of Zairian forces to assume responsibility for improving camp security, with support from a group of UN civilian police and military observers, he said.

However, by 23 January, only 4 of nearly 50 Member States approached had expressed interest in providing civilian police personnel. Of these, only one was French-speaking, he noted.

The possibility of UNAMIR providing military observers on a temporary basis, as well as the idea of training a local security force through contractual arrangements with a private organization, had also been pursued, again without success.

Noting that it had traditionally been the responsibility of the host countries to provide security in refugee camps, Mr. Boutros-Ghali concluded that the various options aimed at enhancing security in the camps through a peace-keeping operation "under one form or another, do not appear viable, at least at the present time".

While urging support for UNHCR efforts to follow up on discussions with Zaire and the United Republic of Tanzania, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said that "any effort to provide security in the camps would be futile unless parallel steps are also taken inside Rwanda to ensure that the refugees can return to their home communities without fear of retribution or persecution and to promote genuine national reconciliation between all segments of Rwandese society".

Resolution 978: Genocidal acts addressed

The Security Council on 27 February, in adopting resolution 978 (1995), urged States to arrest and detain persons "found within their territory against whom there is sufficient evidence that they were responsible for acts within the jurisdiction of the International Tribunal for Rwanda".

Those actions should be taken "in accordance with their national law and relevant standards of international law, pending prosecution by the International Tribunal" or by the appropriate national authorities, the Council said.

The International Tribunal has been authorized, under Council resolution 955 (1994) of 8 November 1994, to prosecute persons responsible for genocide and other serious violations of international humanitarian law in Rwanda, as well as Rwandese citizens responsible for such crimes committed in neighbouring States between 1 January and 31 December 1994.

By resolution 978 (1995), States were also urged to cooperate with representatives of the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and the Tribunal investigators in securing unimpeded access to the arrested and detained persons. In addition, the Council condemned all attacks against refugees in camps near Rwanda's borders and demanded that "such attacks immediately cease".

In debate, Rwanda's Permanent Representative Manzi Bakuramutsa said the resolution sent a "clear and firm message to other political and ethnic organizations that might be tempted to repeat what has happened in Rwanda, and tells them that their actions will not go unpunished".

UNHCR Photo 24127/P. Moumtzis

Fear and despair accompanied Rwandans to the camps.

The Council on 22 February, in resolution 977 (1995), designated Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, as the Tribunal seat. In doing so, it noted the willingness of the Rwandese Government to cooperate with the new body.

In a 13 February report *(S/1995/134)*, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali had reported on the findings of a technical mission to Rwanda, Kenya and the United Republic of Tanzania. He said "justice and fairness" required that trial proceedings be held in a neutral territory. There were also serious security risks involved in bringing into Rwanda to stand trial the leaders of the previous regime alleged to have committed acts of genocide.

Honoré Rakotomanana of Madagascar, Deputy Prosecutor of the Tribunal, arrived in Kigali on 26 January to launch investigative unit operations. According to that body's Statute, the Prosecutor for the International Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia shall also serve as Prosecutor for the Rwanda Tribunal.

Fund created

The Secretary-General on 24 January announced the creation of a voluntary fund to support its activities. Contributions would "enable an early start" to the Tribunal's work by allowing deployment of teams to Rwanda to investigate suspects in custody and identify and apprehend other suspects in neighbouring territories, he said.

On 10 February, the Security Council recommended an increase in the number of UNAMIR civilian police observers, from 90 to 120. More human rights officers were also requested.

A functioning judicial system was "essential in the government recovery programme for the establishment of internal security, and also for the return of refugees", the Council stated. Members also attached importance to establishing an effective mine-clearance programme in Rwanda and wanted Radio UNAMIR to "commence broadcasting without delay".

On 6 February, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/107)* that progress continued to be made in normalizing the situation in Rwanda, but "many challenges remain".

The Government was taking steps towards national reconciliation and reconstruction, he said; however, it lacked resources to run an effective public administration. Moreover, while civil administration was largely in place throughout Rwanda, important appointments, especially in such key sectors as the judiciary, remained to be made.

The newly-renamed "Government of National Unity" had presented an eight-point programme reiterating goals of rehabilitation and reconstruction, first set out when it was installed on 19 July 1994, he went on.

> “
>
> Fear remains the single most important factor impeding the return of internally displaced persons and refugees
>
> ”

Steps had also been taken to reunify the army, with more than 2,200 members of the former Rwandese Government Forces (RGF) having undergone retraining. RGF officers had been given new appointments, including that of Deputy Chief of Staff and Chief of the Gendarmerie.

In accordance with the 1993 Arusha Peace Agreement, the Rwandese Government on 23 December 1994 had established a commission—composed of two representatives each of the Government, UNHCR and the refugee community, as well as a representative of the Organization of African Unity (OAU)—to finalize and implement a programme for repatriation and reintegration of refugees.

Reports of summary executions, secret detention, torture, banditry and other violent acts against civilians continued to be a matter of serious concern, the Secretary-General went on. "Fears of reprisals continue to exist among refugees and internally displaced persons", he said. Rwanda's court system was not yet functioning, its prisons were overcrowded, and thousands of suspects awaited trial. In addition to an effective court system, a professional police force was also needed to establish internal security, he informed the Council.

The UN Human Rights Field Operation in Rwanda was helping to rehabilitate the justice system, but substantially more technical and financial aid was required.

The Secretary-General also said UN High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso had developed a programme of technical assistance in the administration of justice that included review of criminal cases of detainees, improvement in prison administration, establishment of civil dispute resolution mechanisms, and recruitment and training of civilian police.

'Opération Retour' launched

In the 6 February report, the Secretary-General said the force structure and deployment of UNAMIR had been adjusted, due to security developments in the camps and the border areas, an increase in armed attacks, and additional tasks relating to the security of human rights officers and Tribunal personnel.

With the aim of creating conditions that would give displaced persons the freedom to return home voluntarily, UNAMIR, from 13 to 15 December, had also enhanced security in the Kibeho and Ndago displaced person camps.

The success of that operation helped to establish suitable conditions for the launching on 29 December of Opération Retour—an integrated inter-agency initiative aimed at facilitating the safe resettlement of internally displaced persons. It provided security for the safe travel of displaced persons back to their homes, and protection once they reached them. It also provided medical, food, water and sanitation assistance in the home communes.

The Secretary-General also said the UN system and non-governmental organizations had continued to provide urgently needed assistance, particularly food, health and children's services, to displaced persons and other vulnerable population groups.

The needs of children in especially difficult circumstances, such as "child soldiers" between the ages of 10 and 16 years, had received particular attention, he said.

The mine-clearance plan called for marking and fencing operations and emergency mine clearance of key humanitarian facilities such as schools and hospitals.

He believed a "strong foundation" had been established for further progress. However, "if the present momentum in favour of Rwanda's recovery is to endure and grow, the support and participation of all Rwandese people is vital", he added. The Government must ensure that all Rwandese who had not participated in the genocide be given the opportunity to play a role in the national reconciliation process.

Seven-nation mission

A seven-nation mission visited Rwanda on 12 and 13 February, in an effort to move forward national reconciliation. Its members were from China, the Czech Republic, Germany, Honduras, Indonesia, Nigeria and the United States. The decision to dispatch the mission was taken during Council consultations on 6 February.

In a 28 February report *(S/1995/164)*, the mission declared: "Fear remains the single most important factor impeding the return of internally displaced persons and refugees". It recommended: "a framework for dialogue" between the Government, refugee representatives and the UN; a civic education programme; an effective mechanism to protect property rights; an effective civil administration throughout Rwanda; and unimpeded access for UNAMIR, humanitarian personnel and human rights monitors.

More than 150,000 children have been orphaned since the crises began.

A "continuous process" of national reconciliation could be facilitated by efforts to promote repatriation and rehabilitation, and by concrete movement in the area of justice.

The Tribunal should become operational as soon as possible, with the Prosecutor's office beginning work in Rwanda. A list of persons sought for questioning in connection with violations of international humanitarian law should be established and made public.

A qualified team of civilian police observers should be deployed as early as possible to enable UNAMIR to assist in the training of a new, integrated national police force, it added.

Statistics are 'grim'

On 20 January, the 1995 Consolidated Inter-Agency Appeal for Rwanda was launched in Geneva, seeking $710 million for emergency humanitarian relief inside Rwanda and the subregion.

"The statistics on Rwanda are grim—up to 1 million persons killed (or about 13 per cent of the population), an estimated 2 million people living outside the country and 350,000 displaced within the country, some 150,000 children orphaned and an economy which has declined by more than 50 per cent since the crisis began", Under-Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs Peter Hansen said.

On 10 March, the World Food Programme (WFP) and UNHCR urged swift action to address dramatic food shortages threatening more than 3 million Rwandese and Burundi refugees.

At a donors meeting in Rome, the WFP said $385 million was needed this year for food and essential operational costs, but only $155 million had been pledged so far. Daily food rations were being cut in refugee camps, and officials were concerned this could "spark tensions and serious security problems in the camps and surrounding villages".

On 31 March, High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata, alarmed by the outflow of some 45,000 Rwandese refugees from camps in northern Burundi, called on Governments in the region to respect the principle of safe asylum.

At a February conference in Bujumbura, Burundi, on refugees, returnees and displaced persons, jointly organized by UNHCR and the OAU, countries of the region approved a plan to allow refugees to return freely to their homes and pledged to respect their rights.

In a 23 March message to the sixth ministerial meeting of the Standing Advisory Committee on Security Questions in Central Africa, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali referred to the "determination of your States to deal with the crucial question of security in your region", considering the "tragedies which Central Africa has witnessed recently and the serious threats which still hang over it". African States must help maintain peace and security on the continental, subcontinental and regional levels. ■

UNOSOM withdrawal completed 'virtually without a hitch'

UN efforts save a quarter million lives

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported on 2 March that the withdrawal of the UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM II) had been carried out "in a safe and orderly manner, ahead of schedule, and virtually without a hitch".

A Combined Task Force—"United Shield"—composed of troops from France, India, Italy, Malaysia, Pakistan, the United Kingdom and the United States—had landed in Mogadishu on 28 February to ensure a safe withdrawal.

"United Shield" troops departed Mogadishu on 3 March, after securing the withdrawal of the last of the UNOSOM II military rearguard and civilian and logistical personnel. No casualties were sustained in the operation. Force headquarters closed down operations in Nairobi, Kenya, on 8 March.

"In view of the volatile situation prevailing in Somalia", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said, "the withdrawal was a complex exercise that required a concerted planning effort and was implemented in a skillful and coordinated manner." The phase-out, which began in November, involved the departure of 15,000 troops then deployed.

All UNOSOM soldiers and international staff had "left Somalia soil safely", he reported, as had the Combined Task Force troops.

The withdrawal was called for by the Security Council on 4 November 1994 in its resolution 954 (1994). Its completion, the Secretary-General said, "marks the end of a major phase of the efforts of the international community to facilitate the search for peace and reconciliation and to bring humanitarian assistance".

"The United Nations will not abandon

AP Photos/Corinne Dufka

Pakistani peace-keepers wait to board the last ship leaving Somalia on 2 March, the final day for UNOSOM II withdrawal.

On 27 February, United States Marines participating in Operation "United Shield" unload their weapons on a Mogadishu beach.

Somalia", the Secretary-General declared on the day of the final withdrawal. However, he went on, the feasibility of international aid, both in the political and humanitarian areas, would depend on the cooperation by the Somali leaders with the UN and the humanitarian agencies, the resources made available for them, and the degree of security prevailing in the country.

"I hope that the Somali people will find the courage and wisdom to achieve political reconciliation and to bring peace to their country", the Secretary-General concluded.

A new political mission

In a 6 April presidential statement, the Security Council supported the Secretary-General's view that Somalia should not be abandoned by the UN, and welcomed his intention to continue a small political mission to assist the Somali parties in "coming together in national reconciliation".

The Council asserted that the UN would continue to help the Somali people to achieve a political settlement and give humanitarian and other support services, "provided that the Somalis themselves demonstrate a disposition to peaceful resolution of the conflict and to cooperation with the international community".

The lack of sufficient cooperation from the Somali parties over security issues had "undermined" UN objectives and prevented the continuation of UNOSOM's mandate beyond 31 March, it said.

Council members, in paying tribute to those personnel who had sacrificed their lives, emphasized that the "timely intervention of UNOSOM II and the humanitarian assistance given to Somalia helped to save many lives and much property, mitigated general suffering and contributed to the search for peace".

To end the suffering

International intervention in Somalia was originally intended to end the human suffering which claimed hundreds of thousands of lives. The Council, in April 1992, set up the first UN Operation in Somalia (UNOSOM I) to monitor a cease-fire between rival factions, coordinate humanitarian assistance and ensure security of relief supplies in Somalia, which was plagued by interclan rivalries, widespread looting and banditry, and other difficulties.

Despite intense efforts, the humanitarian situation deteriorated alarmingly, and the Council in December 1992 authorized Member States to form a Unified Task Force (UNITAF) under Chapter VII of the UN Charter. It was mandated to use "all necessary means" to establish a safe environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance and worked in coordination with UNOSOM I.

In May 1993, UNOSOM II, also provided with enforcement powers, took over from the United States-led UNITAF. Its responsibilities included: monitoring the cessation of hostilities; maintaining security at ports; repatriating refugees; and protecting humanitarian relief supplies and organizations. In addition, the UN undertook extensive efforts to promote peace and national reconciliation.

As he left Somalia for Nairobi on 28 February, the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Somalia, James Victor Gbeho of Ghana, declared: "When the history of Somalia comes to be written, it will be seen that we made more gains than losses."

Political presence recommended

In a 28 March comprehensive report *(S/1995/231)* on the work of UNOSOM II, the Secretary-General said the UN was at a point of transition in its efforts "to succour a people and a country caught in the throes of famine, civil war and the collapse of all institutions of government".

From the outset, the Organization faced famine zones in Somalia where approximately one third of all the children under the age of five had died from starvation and diseases related to malnutrition. The lives of more than half the estimated 8 million population were at risk, including 1 million children; up to 1.5 million persons had been displaced inside Somalia or in neighbouring countries between 1991 and mid-1993; and all institutions of governance and over half of the country's infrastructure had "disintegrated", according to the report.

UN Photo 186268/F Ribère

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali visited Somalia in October 1993. *Above*, at a UN-supported orphanage in Baidoa.

Since the start of the humanitarian relief and emergency programmes, the situation changed dramatically in a number of respects. In addition to saving over a quarter of a million lives during the famine emergency, food and non-food relief contributed to the prevention of any new famine emergency.

By the end of 1994, food-for-work schemes had replaced free distribution as the main mode for food assistance delivery. UN agencies and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) had distributed seeds and farm tools and helped to rehabilitate the agricultural infrastructure. The September 1994-January 1995 harvest actually exceeded pre-war levels and livestock programmes were so successful that exports have since begun to revive.

Also cited as humanitarian successes were: reintegration into their home areas of a significant portion of the refugees and internally displaced; significantly improved access to health services, facilities, drugs and medical supplies; and increased access for over 1.5 million people to potable water. Similar successes were reported in the field of education, with expanded access to education and training.

Some 30,000 participated

At the height of UNOSOM II, up to 30,000 UN military and logistic personnel were deployed to provide: a secure environment for the delivery of humanitarian assistance; escorts for humanitarian convoys; specialized courses for the Somali police; medical aid to civilians; and help to implement community development projects.

Training was also given for "judicial personnel" in judicial administration and ethics, juvenile justice, human rights and the rule of law. Additional support was provided by UNOSOM to the court and prison systems.

UNOSOM II also aided in re-establishing an 8,500-strong police force. International support for the programme, which included salary payments for police, was scheduled to end on 31 March.

Appealing for additional funds, Mr. Boutros-Ghali warned that unless resources were made available to continue the programme past that date, "the whole police programme will be jeopardized and security conditions in a number of areas might deteriorate".

He acknowledged that while not all the objectives originally set for the operation were ultimately met, the UN would "claim major accomplishments, especially when one recalls that in late 1992 3,000 men, women and children were dying daily of starvation and this tragedy was ended by the international relief effort".

In a frank examination of UN efforts to bring about national reconciliation, he concluded: "If the political will to achieve a durable compromise was lacking, the responsibility lies with the Somali leadership."

As important political achievements, the report cited two major conferences held with UN assistance and support—the National Reconciliation Conference of March 1993 that yielded the Addis Ababa Agreement, and consultations a year later leading to the Nairobi Declaration. Those documents continue to serve as the major frame of reference in the Somali parties' discussions of a political settlement, he said.

The report also pointed to UN-sponsored interclan reconciliation meetings at the local level. These resulted in agreements that contributed to the prevention of interclan fighting, largely limiting the area of conflict to south Mogadishu, it was stated.

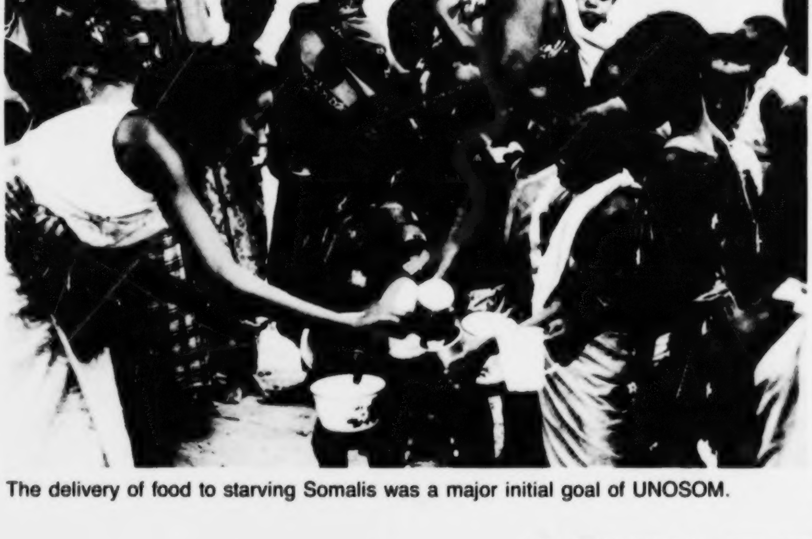
Also, starting in February 1992, the UN was able to arrange a series of cease-fires which, despite sporadic, sometimes intense flare-ups, were effective in achieving and maintaining relative peace in Somalia as a whole, it asserted.

Recent agreements, tempered hope

Lending support to this view, recent discussions among the parties in early 1995 led to the signing of four political

UN Photo 146504/Peter Magubane

UN Photo 159378/M Grant



The delivery of food to starving Somalis was a major initial goal of UNOSOM.

agreements which the Somali Salvation Alliance (SSA) and the Somali National Alliance (SNA) have been implementing in a joint effort.

The 28 March report stated that this marked the first time since the March 1994 Nairobi declaration that those two groups' leaders—Ali Mahdi and General Aidid, respectively—had put their signatures to a peace agreement.

In the 21 February agreement, the two sides accepted the principle of power-sharing, pledged to seek the presidency through democratic elections, and agreed to resolve disputes peacefully.

They also agreed, on 23 February, to establish two joint committees to manage the operations of the Mogadishu airport and seaport. Following a 5 March agreement, the seaport opened on 9 March under the administration of the joint committees.

While noting that such signs must be viewed cautiously, the Secretary-General also suggested that "these indications of a possible *rapprochement* between them may justify the hope that the Somali leaders will find the strength and the courage to pursue a more productive peace process in the coming weeks".

He had instructed Mr. Gbeho to remain in Nairobi to monitor the situation and coordinate continuing UN humanitarian activities in Somalia. A decision about the level and mandate of the UN political presence in Mogadishu could be expected by mid-April, but his inclination was to maintain a small political office there consisting of a representative with a small support staff, he said.

Focus: The Three 'Rs'

He also stressed that the focus for UN agencies and organizations, as well as NGOs, would be on "rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction". Humanitarian aid and assistance in achieving national reconciliation "must go together", he added.

The new challenge for the UN and its humanitarian partners would be "to sustain this progress in Somalia's conflict-ridden environment and, concomitantly, to move forward to rehabilitation, recovery and reconstruction", Mr. Boutros-Ghali asserted.

He informed Council members that he had established a UN Coordination Team (UNCT), which would interact with national and international NGOs and the donor community to ensure coherence among the activities of these operational partners.

In a cautious note, the Secretary-General stressed that Somalia "will remain vulnerable to future disasters". Humanitarian agencies expected for the foreseeable future to continue to operate in a context of political unrest and uncertainty.

In a related effort, the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs on 22 December 1994 launched a UN-consolidated inter-agency appeal to meet ongoing humanitarian needs in Somalia. The appeal covers a half-year period that began January. Agencies requested $70 million for their activities for the first six months.

In a 14 February press conference at Headquarters shortly after his return from a visit to Somalia, Under-Secretary-General for Peace-keeping Kofi Annan said he hoped the withdrawal of UNOSOM II would serve as "a big wake-up call for the leaders and that they will finally have the courage to compromise and seize this opportunity to bring peace and stability to their country". Much of what had been achieved in Somalia in the past three years remained vulnerable to the threat of renewed conflict, he warned. ■

The UN and Somalia

1992

3 March Following clan clashes, famine and collapse of government services, cease-fire agreement signed.

24 April UNOSOM I established to monitor cease-fire, coordinate humanitarian assistance and ensure security of relief supplies (resolution 751).

3 December UNITAF enforcement operation authorized to establish secure environment for humanitarian assistance (resolution 794).

9 December UNITAF arrives in Mogadishu.

1993

15-28 March Addis Ababa Conference on national reconciliation resolves to end armed conflict.

26 March UNOSOM II authorized with enforcement powers, including disarmament (resolution 814).

4 May UNOSOM II takes over from UNITAF.

6 June Day after the deaths of 25 Pakistani soldiers in a south Mogadishu ambush, Security Council authorizes "all necessary measures" against those responsible (resolution 837).

3 October In operation to apprehend 24 suspects, 18 American soldiers are killed, 75 wounded. The United States announces its withdrawal by 31 March 1994.

16 November Council authorizes a Commission of Inquiry to investigate armed attacks on UNOSOM II personnel (resolution 885).

1994

24 March Somali factions set National Reconciliation Conference for 15 May to elect President and Vice-Presidents, and appoint Prime Minister, but it is repeatedly postponed.

30 September Council requests intensified preparations for possible withdrawal (resolution 946).

4 November UNOSOM II extended for final period until 31 March 1995 (resolution 954).

1995

3 March With support from "United Shield", UNOSOM II withdrawal completed safely.

6 April Council declares UN will continue to help Somalis achieve a political settlement and provide humanitarian services.

New verification mission set up

A new UN peace-keeping operation in Angola was established on 8 February by the Security Council to help restore peace and achieve national reconciliation in that country after 20 years of civil war. With an initial mandate until 8 August 1995, the UN Angola Verification Mission (UNAVEM III) was authorized under resolution 976 (1995) to deploy a maximum of 7,000 military personnel, in addition to 350 military and 260 police observers. It replaced UNAVEM II, whose mandate had expired.

The new Mission would assist in the peace process on the basis of the 31 May 1991 "Acordos de Paz" (Bicesse Accords), the 20 November 1994 Lusaka Protocol, and relevant Council resolutions, the Council said. The operation would end when the Protocol's objectives had been achieved, which was expected by February 1997.

Deployment of infantry units would take place based on certain conditions, including an effective cessation of hostilities. The immediate dispatch of planning and support elements was also authorized, provided that the cease-fire and effective monitoring mechanisms were in place, and that the parties were "allowing the free and safe flow of humanitarian assistance".

The Government of Angola and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) were called on to "cease any acquisition of arms and war *matériel*" during UNAVEM III's presence and "to devote their resources instead to priority humanitarian and social needs".

The Council would review the UN role in Angola should the Secretary-General report that cooperation from the parties was "substantially delayed or not forthcoming".

UNAVEM III proposed

The enlarged operation was proposed by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in a 1 February report *(S/1995/97)* to the Council.

Under the Lusaka Protocol, the UN was expected to assume a new and major role in the peace process, and it should respond positively to that challenge, he stated. The "breadth of new responsibilities" asked of the UN by the Government and UNITA—supported by Portugal, the Russian Federation and the United States as the observer States—required "a sizeable United Nations presence".

The Lusaka Protocol had manifested the parties' desire "to resolve the conflict and re-establish peace through political means", the Secretary-General said. However, he would "not hesitate to invite the Security Council to reconsider its commitments" in Angola if the political will and the necessary cooperation were lacking, he stressed.

The Secretary-General also noted that conditions for the delivery of humanitarian assistance had improved considerably, and urged an immediate mobilization of resources to stabilize and improve the situation of populations affected by the war. Demining, demobilization, and reintegration and resettlement of refugees were essential as well, he stressed.

UN Photo 189134

The Security Council on 8 February voted to establish UNAVEM III. *Above*, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali conferring with Foreign Minister Mompati S. Merafhe of Botswana, who presided at that meeting.

'Concrete signs' needed

Citing a number of developments that gave rise to "serious concern", including restrictions on the movement of Mission personnel, the Council on 10 March called on the Government and UNITA to take steps to ensure the prompt deployment of UNAVEM III units from 9 May. These included ending negative propaganda, improving cooperation and cooperating fully with humanitarian operations.

In a presidential statement made by Li Zhaoxing of China, the Council declared that both parties "must provide more concrete signs of cooperation and goodwill in the implementation of the peace process".

On 5 March, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/177)* a number of serious issues, including complaints of cease-fire violations, which he said were being addressed through the Joint Commission, chaired by his Special Representative, Alioune Blondin Beye of Mali. The Joint Commission is the principal body in charge of the Protocol's implementation.

Calling the Council's decision to set up UNAVEM III "an act of faith by the international community in the determination of the Angolan parties to put an end to the civil war that has ravaged their country", Mr. Boutros-Ghali said that unless the parties complied by 25 March with the Council's conditions, he would recommend that the deployment of UNAVEM III infantry units be deferred.

In a 25 March letter *(S/1995/230)*, the Secretary-General told the Council that preparations for the deployment of UNAVEM infantry units should proceed.

Although some conditions stipulated in resolution 976 (1995) had not been fully met, the Secretary-General asserted that deployment would be "in the best interest of the peace process".

Ismat Kittani, Special Adviser to the Secretary-General, visited Angola from 17 to 22 March to discuss measures to facilitate deployment. He had reported "some progress" regarding certain Council conditions, including: cessation of hostilities; disengagement of troops; verification mechanisms; and integration of military forces.

Both President dos Santos and UNITA's leader Jonas Savimbi had assured Mr. Kittani that they were fully committed to implementing the Lusaka Protocol and strongly favoured accelerated deployment of UN troops.

The Secretary-General said he could not ensure deployment in May if the parties did not comply with their commitments "without delay" and provide "indispensable logistic support" to UNAVEM III. The efforts of the UN "must be matched by an unambiguous political will and concrete action by the Angolan parties", he stressed.

Consolidated appeal

A $213-million consolidated inter-agency appeal for Angola was launched on 1 February to cover humanitarian activities for 1995. The appeal includes assistance for the estimated 3.5 million Angolans severely affected by the war and for the 100,000 refugees expected to be repatriated this year. ■

MOZAMBIQUE

Continued international support needed to consolidate peace

The need for continued international support in consolidating peace and stability in Mozambique was "more acute that ever before", the Security Council was told on 27 January.

Leonardo Santos Simão, Mozambique's Minister for Foreign Affairs and Cooperation, said the UN-sponsored elections in October 1994 and the withdrawal of the UN Operation in Mozambique (ONUMOZ) were "only the culmination of an important phase of the whole peace process and the beginning of a new and more challenging one".

Future action should include strengthening of national institutions responsible for the maintenance of peace, tranquillity and public order, and of the judicial system "so as to consolidate a real state of law", Mr. Simão said.

Established by Council resolution 797 (1992) of 16 December 1992 to verify the cease-fire, elections and police neutrality and to offer humanitarian assistance, including de-mining, ONUMOZ was successfully completed after the country's first multi-party general elections, held from 27 to 29 October 1994.

On 8 December, Mozambique's new Parliament was installed in the capital of Maputo. The following day, President Joaquim Chissano was inaugurated.

Legwaila J. Legwaila of Botswana, speaking for States members of the Southern African Development Community—Angola, Botswana, Lesotho, Malawi, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, United Republic of Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe—stressed that ONUMOZ termination and its complete withdrawal should not mean the end of international assistance. He urged continuous support for social and economic development to ensure that there was "no reversal of gains made so far".

Jean-Bernard Mérimée of France, who spoke on behalf of the European Union, stated that "all Mozambicans must be able to see their ballot transformed into a road map to democracy and progress". The European Union, which had defrayed 80 per cent of the election expenses, "will continue its assistance".

Karl F. Inderfurth of the United States declared that the peace-keeping operation in Mozambique had been "one of the largest and most successful" in UN history. As the "reconstruction and rehabilitation can now go forward", his country "will be there to help", he assured.

Pedro Catarino of Portugal said assistance for reconstruction and development was the only way to consolidate democracy.

General Assembly action

Some $40 million was appropriated by the General Assembly on 10 March to liquidate ONUMOZ. By adopting resolution 49/235 without a vote, it decided how the Operation's assets would be disposed of, and determined that certain of the assets could be donated to the mine-clearance programme. ■

Peace process at standstill despite Accra Agreement

Despite the signing by the Liberian parties of the Accra Agreement on 21 December 1994 and the coming into force of a cease-fire one week later, the civil war that had inflicted so much suffering on the Liberian people had not come to an end, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported to the Security Council on 24 February. On the contrary, the peace process was once again at a standstill, he said.

Two months after the Agreement's signing, the Liberian factions and political leaders were still haggling over the composition and chairmanship of the Council of State and had not shown that they were genuinely committed to the fulfilment of their obligations, he said in a ninth progress report *(S/1995/158)* on the UN Observer Mission in Liberia (UNOMIL).

The main bottleneck concerning the Council of State was the inability of the Armed Forces of Liberia (AFL) and the Coalition forces to agree on their joint nominee, the Secretary-General reported. Nominees from the other parties included: Charles Taylor, President of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL); Alhaji Kromah, Chairman of the Alhaji Kromah wing of the United Liberation Movement of Liberia for Democracy (ULIMO-K); and Oscar Quiah, representative of the Liberia National Conference (LNC).

With the failure of the Liberian parties to implement yet another agreement, the Secretary-General said, the time had come to consider how the international community could continue to assist in the search for peace and stability in Liberia.

Tracing the history of the five-year-old conflict, Mr. Boutros-Ghali said the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) had first deployed its Monitoring Group (ECOMOG) in August 1990. Since then, numerous peace agreements had been concluded, only to be broken. The most important, signed in Cotonou on 25 July 1993, assigned to ECOMOG the primary responsibility of assisting the Liberian parties in the implementation of a detailed peace plan, providing for a seven-month transitional process leading to a free and fair election.

> “Liberian leaders must show a genuine commitment to a sustainable peace”

UNOMIL, established on 22 September 1993 by Council resolution 866 (1993), was entrusted with the task of observing and monitoring the implementation of the agreement.

When the current UNOMIL mandate expired on 13 April, the Security Council would have to choose between a number of options, depending on whether the political stalemate continued or whether the factions would finally make the compromises necessary to rescue Liberia from its long ordeal.

It could: maintain UNOMIL as currently mandated; consider setting up a UN peace-keeping force in Liberia; further reduce UNOMIL's military component and limit the mandate to the provision of good offices until the parties demonstrated the political will necessary to reactivate the peace process; or withdraw UNOMIL.

Earlier, on 13 January, the Council had extended the mandate of UNOMIL until 13 April. It also expressed deep concern at the failure of the Liberian parties to agree on the composition of the new Council of State, as stipulated in the Accra Agreement, and called upon them to work together to implement the Agreement.

By unanimously adopting resolution 972 (1995), the Security Council called on the parties to uphold the cease-fire and resume disarmament and demobilization of combatants. It also demanded that all factions facilitate humanitarian deliveries and strictly respect the status of UNOMIL and ECOMOG personnel, as well as the staff of humanitarian agencies.

The Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/9)* on 6 January on the work of a high-level mission, led by Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs Lansana Kouyaté, which had visited Ghana, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Liberia, Guinea and Sierra Leone from 18 November to 2 December. The purpose was to consult with Governments of ECOWAS members on how best to revive the peace process and achieve reconciliation among Liberians.

The mission concluded that, notwithstanding the tireless efforts of the Chairman of ECOWAS, President Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, the Liberian leaders were not yet committed to a sustainable peace in their country. It recommended that they must be brought to understand that, in the absence of political accommodation and reconciliation, continued support from the international community would not be forthcoming.

On 28 December, Anthony Nyakyi of the United Republic of Tanzania was appointed as Special Representative for Liberia, replacing Trevor Gordon-Somers. ■

Referendum in 1996 a 'real possibility' despite slow progress

The Security Council has welcomed the progress achieved so far by the United Nations Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) in the identification and registration of voters, in particular the acceleration in the rate of identification, and emphasized the need to continue that acceleration.

In a 12 April presidential statement, the Council endorsed the Secretary-General's goal of achieving a rate of at least 25,000 per month. However, it regretted that progress had not been sufficient to enable the Secretary-General to recommend 1 June 1995 as the date for the commencement of the transitional period.

The Council also noted with concern the delays resulting from the failure to ensure the continuous presence at the identification centres of the necessary sub-fraction representatives, and welcomed the agreement on a method for choosing alternate representatives when necessary.

The Council further expressed concern at the slow progress in the implementation of other aspects of the Settlement Plan, which had to be completed before the referendum in Western Sahara could take place.

On 30 March, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali reported *(S/1995/240)* that the holding of the referendum had become a real possibility.

While it would not be possible to start the transitional period by 1 June as he had hoped, it could begin in August 1995, depending on the parties cooperation in resolving expeditiously the remaining issues in the Settlement Plan, the Secretary-General stated. The referendum could then be held in January 1996.

Important archival material given by the Government of Spain, including certificates of birth, marriage, divorce and death, were of considerable value to identification, especially for doubtful cases, the Secretary-General added.

Less than a year ago, very few believed that the identification process would even start, he said. By autumn of 1994, the pace was such as to "inspire little faith in its being completed within the foreseeable future". Now, additional resources needed for implementation had been promised and agreement reached on how identification might be carried forward.

There were currently seven identification centres, and plans were in hand to expand the operation further, he went on. Computerization of applications received and, in particular, the agreement of the parties to a formula for choosing tribal leaders to replace sheikhs who were no longer living or capable offered the best prospects so far for progress towards a referendum.

The Security Council on 13 January, by resolution 973 (1995), approved the expansion of MINURSO to ensure the timely completion of the voter identification. The Mission's mandate was also extended to 31 May.

The Council also decided to consider a possible mandate extension after 31 May, in the light of progress achieved towards the holding of the referendum and the implementation of the Settlement Plan.

The Plan, approved by the Council on 27 June 1990 under resolution 658 (1990), called for organization and supervision of a UN referendum, in cooperation with the Organization of African Unity (OAU), in which voters would choose either independence or integration with Morocco. ■

Libya sanctions to stay in place

The Security Council on 30 March reviewed the arms and air embargo against Libya and decided it should remain in force. Council President Li Zhaoxing of China said there was no agreement that the necessary conditions existed for modification of the sanctions.

The embargo was imposed under Council resolution 748 (1992), after France, the United Kingdom and the United States complained that Libya had failed to respond effectively to their request to cooperate fully in establishing responsibility for the terrorist bombings which took place in 1988 and 1989.

The three countries, in a 30 March statement, reaffirmed that they were committed to full and comprehensive enforcement of the sanctions against Libya, having a "common determination to bring to justice those responsible" for the bombings of Pan Am flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, and UTA flight 772 in Niger. Libya, they agreed, must ensure the appearance of the two Lockerbie suspects in the United Kingdom or the United States, where they said they would receive a fair trial.

Meanwhile, the Organization of African Unity (OAU) and the League of Arab States adopted resolutions calling on the Security Council to lift the sanctions against Libya.

On 27 January, the OAU set up a Ministerial Committee to establish contacts with the parties to the dispute, coordinate efforts and initiatives, and open channels for dialogue to secure "a peaceful and just settlement to the dispute". The Arab League on 24 March called on the Council to conduct a new and impartial inquiry about the Lockerbie crash, in view of the shortcomings and the doubts surrounding past inquiries.

Lebanon Force mandate extended for another six months

In reiterating strong support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and independence of Lebanon within internationally recognized boundaries, the Security Council on 30 January extended the mandate of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for another six months, until 31 July. By unanimously adopting resolution 974 (1995), the Council also called upon all parties concerned to "cooperate fully with the Force for the full implementation of its mandate".

Established in March 1978, UNIFIL's mandate is to confirm the withdrawal of Israeli forces from southern Lebanon, restore international peace and security, and assist the Lebanese Government in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area.

In a statement by its President Emilio J. Cardenas of Argentina, the Council asserted that "any State shall refrain from the threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any State, or in any other manner inconsistent with the purposes of the United Nations".

The Council also reiterated full support for the October 1989 Taif Agreement and commended the Lebanese Government for its "successful effort to extend its authority to the south of the country in full coordination with UNIFIL".

On 1 April, Major-General Stanislaw Franciszek Woźniak of Poland replaced Major-General Trond Furuhovde of Norway as UNIFIL Force Commander.

The Secretary-General on 31 March, expressed his deep concern about the recent escalation of hostilities along the Israeli-Lebanese border and urged all parties to cease hostilities and "refrain from attacking civilian targets".

On 23 January, he reported *(S/1995/66)* that Israel had "maintained its occupation of parts of south Lebanon", where its forces, as well as their Lebanese auxiliary, were "targets of attacks by armed groups" which resisted the occupation.

Although the situation was "tense and volatile" and UNIFIL was still prevented from fulfilling its mandate, the Force's "contribution to stability in the area" and the protection it was able to afford the inhabitants remained important, the Secretary-General stated.

> "The process of building confidence is not only arduous but painful"

The "process of building confidence between Palestinians and Israelis is not only arduous but painful", Mr. Boutros-Ghali told the Committee on the Exercise of the Inalienable Rights of the Palestinian People on 3 February.

Israeli settlement activity in the occupied Arab territories posed a serious threat to the success of the Middle East peace process and must be halted immediately, many speakers stated, as the Council on 28 February considered the situation in those territories.

Israel responded that no new settlements had been established since the present Government took power in 1992, and the whole issue should be addressed through "direct, bilateral negotiations and should not be taken up by the Security Council".

The United States said it believed it would "not be productive or useful for the Council to involve itself now in a question that the parties have agreed to cover when they address permanent status issues in their negotiations".

Terrorist attacks in Israel were condemned at UN Headquarters in January. Security Council members, in a statement on 24 January following an explosion near Tel Aviv, called upon all parties to continue their efforts to consolidate the peace process. "Common ground can only be found through the practice of dialogue, respect and tolerance", they stressed.

A $13-million appeal to provide funds for meeting the urgent health needs of the Palestinian people was launched on 28 February by the World Health Organization.

A UN Latin American and Caribbean Seminar and NGO Symposium on the Question of Palestine, on the theme "Supporting the Peace Process—The Contribution of Latin America and the Caribbean", was held from 20 to 23 March in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil.

Establishment of an international fund to assist the written Palestinian press, as well as a journalism training centre, was among the proposals made at a UN-sponsored seminar on assistance to Palestinian media development (29-31 March, Madrid). Speedy development by Palestinian authorities of media laws and broadcasting regulations, stronger support for the Palestinian Broadcasting Corporation, and international support for the private sector were urged. ■

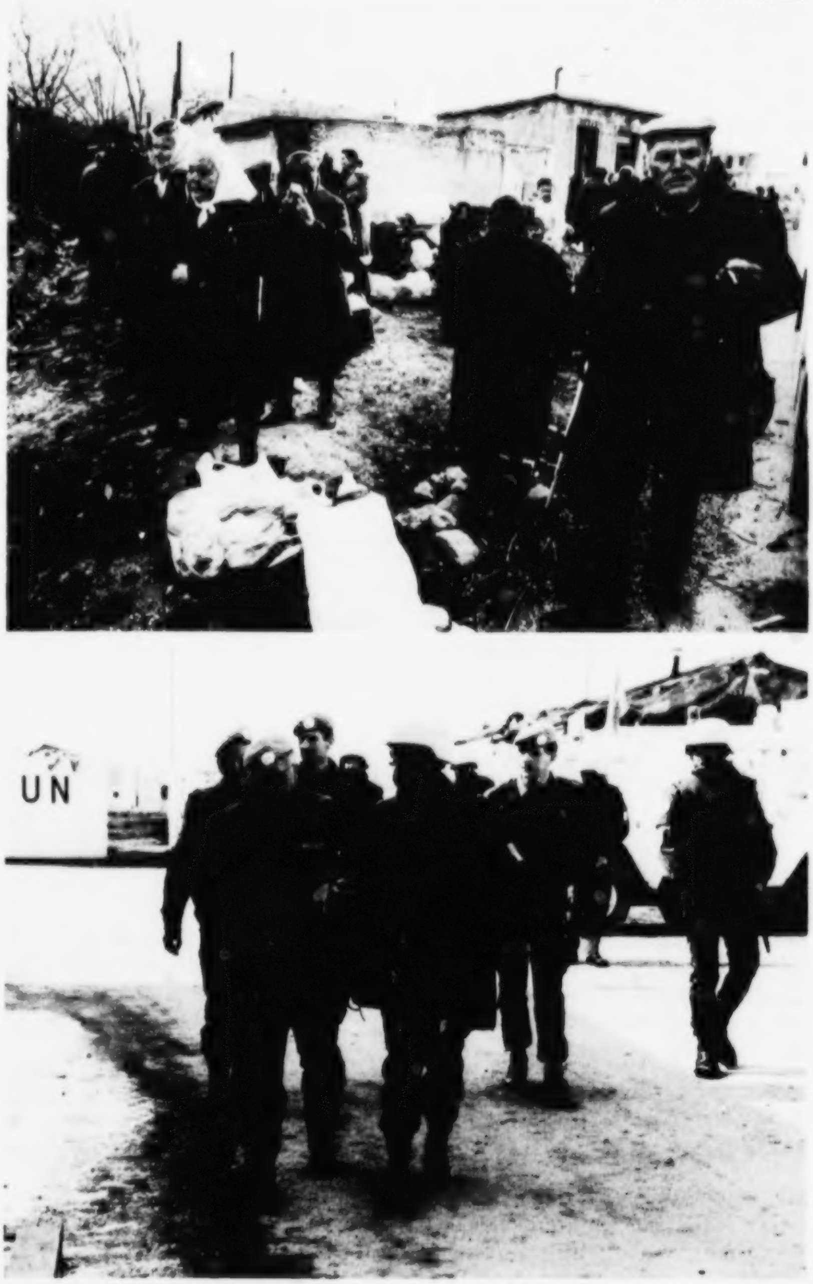
Three separate operations created on 31 March

Croatian stand a factor in decision

Three separate but interlocked peace-keeping operations—for Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia—with mandates extending until 30 November 1995, were set up by the Security Council on 31 March to replace the three-year-old UN Protection Force (UNPROFOR) in the former Yugoslavia. In unanimously adopting resolutions 981 (1995), 982 (1995) and 983 (1995), the Council respectively established the United Nations Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (UNCRO), extended the mandate of UNPROFOR in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and decided that UNPROFOR within the former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia (FYROM) should now "be known as the United Nations Preventive Deployment Force (UNPREDEP)".

The peace-keeping units—each having its own civilian Chief of Mission and military commander—were to assume almost all of the former UNPROFOR functions, with substantial alteration of the mandate in Croatia, where UNCRO, according to the Secretary-General *(S/1995/222)*, would be "significantly smaller than the present UNPROFOR strength". The overall command and control, however, would still be exercised by the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General and a Theatre Force Commander, headquartered in Zagreb.

UN Photos/M. Grafman



A climate of uncertainty enveloped the future of UNPROFOR at the outset of 1995. Among those particularly affected were victims of displacement *(top photo)* and the troops from many countries participating in the three-year-old Force *(above)*.

Originally established in Croatia by Council resolution 743 of 21 February 1992, UNPROFOR had become increasingly involved in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the situation there worsened. The Force presence in the FYROM was authorized under Council resolution 795 of 11 December 1992, to prevent "possible developments which could undermine confidence and stability" in that country.

Nearly 40,000 peace-keepers

As of 20 March, the UNPROFOR military component totalled 38,599 personnel, including 684 UN military advisers, from 39 countries. In the civil affairs component, there were 803 civilian police and 2,017 other international personnel, in addition to 2,615 local staff.

On 1 March, Lieutenant-General Bernard Janvier succeeded Lt.-Gen. Bertrand Guillaume de Sauville de la Presle as UNPROFOR Force Commander, and on 24 January, Lt.-Gen. Rupert Smith had replaced Lt.-Gen. Sir Michael Rose as UNPROFOR Force Commander in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

From 3 January through 31 March, some 840 violations of the ban on military flights, imposed under Council resolution 816 (1993), were reported—71 more than in the previous three months, bringing to 4,274 the total number of apparent violations since monitoring began in November 1992 under resolution 781.

In January, February and March, the Council met either formally or for consultations on six occasions to consider the situation in the former Yugoslavia, adopting four resolutions and issuing four statements.

Resolution 981: UNCRO created

In setting up UNCRO, the Security Council on 31 March, by resolution 981 (1995), recognized that major provisions of the UN peace-keeping plan for Croatia—particularly those relating to the demilitarization of the areas controlled by the local Serbs, the return of all refugees and displaced persons, and the establishment of local police forces—remained to be implemented.

The Council decided that UNCRO would, among other things, support and facilitate the implementation of the 29 March 1994 cease-fire agreement and the 2 December 1994 economic agreement between the Government of Croatia and the local Serb authorities, and of all relevant Council resolutions.

The new operation would also: assist in controlling, by monitoring and reporting, the crossing of military personnel, equipment, supplies and weapons, over Croatia's borders with Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro)—FRY; facilitate delivery of international humanitarian assistance to Bosnia through the territory of Croatia; and monitor the demilitarization of the Prevlaka peninsula on the Adriatic coast.

The Council also decided that UNCRO would be an "interim arrangement to create the conditions that will facilitate a negotiated settlement" consistent with Croatia's territorial integrity and guaranteeing the "security and rights of all communities living in a particular area of the Republic of Croatia, irrespective of whether they constitute in this area a majority or minority".

As the Council demanded that all parties and others concerned "refrain from any acts of intimidation or violence against UNCRO", it allowed UN Member States to take "all necessary measures to extend close air support" to the territory of Croatia in defence of UNCRO personnel.

The Croatian Government and the local Serbs were called upon to refrain from the threat or use of force and "reaffirm their commitment to a peaceful resolution of their differences".

Resolutions 982, 983: UNPROFOR, UNPREDEP

In extending the UNPROFOR mandate in Bosnia and Herzegovina until 30 November, the Security Council, by resolution 982 (1995) of 31 March, authorized the Secretary-General to redeploy before 30 June 1995 all UNPROFOR personnel and assets from Croatia, with the exception of those whose continued presence was required for UNCRO.

UNPROFOR was to continue to perform fully the functions envisaged in the implementation of the cease-fire and economic agreements between the Croatian Government and the Croatian Serbs, as well as all relevant Council resolutions, and facilitate the delivery of international humanitarian aid to

UN Photo 188092/E. Debebe

Croatian President Tudjman *(pictured at left during a 1994 meeting with the Secretary-General)* expressed the desire on 12 March for a new Security Council mandate.

Bosnia through Croatia's territory "until the effective deployment of UNCRO or 30 June 1995, whichever is sooner".

UNPROFOR would retain its existing support structures in Croatia, including the operation of its headquarters, the Council ruled.

By resolution 983 (1995), which renamed the UNPROFOR unit in FYROM as UNPREDEP, the Council urged the new operation to continue UNPROFOR's current cooperation with the mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Croatia's stand: No renewal

The Council's action to split UNPROFOR into separate operations came after Croatia's decision in January not to accept a further renewal of the Force's mandate in its territory beyond 31 March.

"While I am painfully aware of the frustration of the Croatian people that a final political settlement has eluded us, I should like to recall that the unremitting efforts of the international community have resulted in visible progress, particularly in the opening of the Zagreb-Belgrade highway", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali stated on 12 January.

The UN had played a decisive role in "bringing a halt to the brutal war" on Croatian soil three years ago and "helped prevent a resumption of the fighting since", he added. He was "gravely concerned about the risk of renewed hostilities" should UN peace-keepers be withdrawn from Croatia.

In a report *(S/1995/38)* on 14 January, he said: "In view of the weapons that have accumulated in the areas, despite the arms embargo, that conflict would be even more destructive than the one which raged in 1991-1992."

Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, in informing the Secretary-General on 12 January of the decision of his country's Parliament, stated that the "present character of the UNPROFOR mission does not provide conditions necessary for establishing lasting peace and order" in his country.

The Security Council on 17 January, in declaring its concern particularly over the wider implications of Croatia's stand on the mandate of UNPROFOR, expressed its hope that further discussions would lead to a re-examination of that position. In a presidential statement by Emilio J. Cardenas of Argentina, the Council called upon all parties and others concerned to "avoid any action or statement which might lead to an increase in tension".

> “ Total withdrawal of UN peace-keepers would gravely threaten peace and security ”

In a 7 February statement, Council President Legwaila J. Legwaila of Botswana said the Government of Croatia and the local Serb authorities in the UN Protected Areas (UNPAs) were asked to "enter urgently and without preconditions" into negotiations on a political settlement, which ensured full respect for Croatia's sovereignty and territorial integrity and guaranteed the security and rights of all communities.

The Council also stated that continued and effective presence of UNPROFOR in Croatia was of "vital importance for regional peace and security".

On 12 March, President Tudjman announced that Croatia would seek "a new Security Council mandate for an international presence" in its territory to control its borders with the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) and Bosnia and Herzegovina, and facilitate implementation of the cease-fire and economic agreements.

In welcoming that decision, the Secretary-General said that the escalation of military activity and tension over the past two months following Croatia's refusal to keep UNPROFOR beyond 31 March had brought the parties to the "brink of a major war".

Negotiations postponed

The "climate of uncertainty" created by the 12 January Croatian declaration had been compounded by decisions of the self-proclaimed Serb Assembly in Knin to postpone further negotiations and implementation of the economic agreement, and "declare a state of 'immediate war alert', which is the last step preceding full mobilization", the Secretary-General said in a comprehensive report *(S/1995/222)* of 22 March.

In his view, the principal underlying cause for the crisis had been the "lingering lack of trust and confidence between the parties and the resultant political stalemate for the past three years", leading to "fears on the Croatian side that a peaceful political settlement is unattainable and providing encouragement to hardliners on the Krajina Serb side to think that independence or union in a 'Greater Serbia' are realistic options".

In those circumstances, the Secretary-General continued, the total withdrawal of all UN peace-keeping forces would result immediately in a "grave threat to peace and security extending beyond the borders of Croatia", probably leading to a "major renewed conflict", with the participation of Bosnian Serbs and support from forces belonging to the FRY.

The maintenance of a reduced force in Croatia under a new mandate thus seemed the "only way to reduce the risks of a renewed major war", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, UNPROFOR's performance was characterized by a "mixture of achievements and setbacks", the Secretary-General went on.

The Force had been successful in areas where the parties—the Bosnian Government and the Bosnian Serbs—had been willing to demonstrate "good faith in implementing agreements" and where the international community had provided a "clear political context within which the mission can operate", he said.

Bihac fighting continues

With the exception of Bihac where fighting continued, the 23 December 1994 cease-fire had been respected, yielding "tangible benefits for the citizens" of Bosnia, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated. Unfortunately, some provisions of the 31 December Agreement on the cessation of hostilities had not been implemented due to the "continued lack of trust" between the parties and their "unwillingness to break out of a vicious circle of linkages".

In the absence of a real will by the parties to cooperate, UNPROFOR had been "unable to resolve outstanding issues among them", the Secretary-General lamented. As a result, more than ever before, they were faced with the "probability of renewed hostilities in the near future". There was an "overwhelming need for political progress" if further fighting in Bosnia was to be avoided, he stressed.

Deep concern at the continued fighting around Bihac had been expressed by the Security Council on 17 February, as it urged all involved to "make a concerted effort to consolidate what has been achieved so far to avoid the risk of a renewed outbreak of hostilities".

In a presidential statement, the Council also condemned the "recent obstruction of humanitarian convoys" destined for the Bihac area by the Croatian Serbs and Muslim separatist forces of Fikret Abdic. It welcomed the fact that convoys were "now getting through".

In condemning continued violations of Croatia's international borders, the Council demanded that "all forces in the Bihac area cease fighting immediately and cooperate fully with UNPROFOR in achieving an effective cease-fire".

The Secretary-General had reported on 22 March that UNPROFOR had made a "modest but important contribution to helping the authorities and various ethnic groups to maintain peace and stability and build a workable future". Both the Government of FYROM and ethnic Albanian leaders had expressed "appreciation to UNPROFOR for what they have termed its clear, objective, appropriate and helpful actions", he said.

However, FYROM continued to "labour under the combined constraints" of the economic blockade imposed by Greece and the economic sanctions against the FRY, the refusal of the FRY to recognize its borders, and the inter-and intra-ethnic tensions, "all of which continue to undermine its stability and pose a threat to its fragile democracy", he noted.

The Secretary-General's Special Envoy, Cyrus Vance, had told the press on 9 February that there was "no indication of any real danger of fighting" in the FYROM, in contrast to other parts of the former Yugoslavia, where the "combination of ethnic, religious and political differences created a series of issues and problems that were incredibly tough to resolve". He added he had "never seen a more complex and difficult situation".

Resolution 970: Further suspension

A suspension of some of the economic sanctions against the FRY (Serbia and Montenegro) for a further period of 100 days was endorsed by the Security Council on 12 January. The suspension of sanctions, originally enacted under resolution 943 of 23 September 1994, applied to: restrictions on air travel; impoundment of vessels, vehicles and aircraft; maritime traffic; sporting events; and cultural exchanges.

On 30 May 1992 under resolution 757, the Council had imposed wide-ranging sanctions against FRY, including an air embargo. On 17 April 1993, it strengthened them, under resolution 820, to prevent diversion of commodities and products "said to be destined for other places", and to freeze funds held in other States.

In adopting resolution 970 (1995) by 14 votes to none, with 1 abstention (Russian Federation), the Council also called upon all States and others concerned to "respect the sovereignty, territorial integrity and international borders of all States in the region".

The Secretary-General was asked to report every 30 days on whether the FRY authorities were "effectively implementing their decision" to close the international border with Bosnia and Herzegovina "with respect to all goods except foodstuffs, medical supplies and clothing for essential humanitarian needs". Any non-compliance by the FRY would terminate the suspension of sanctions, "unless the Security Council decides to the contrary", the resolution stated.

Compliance certified

The FRY was "continuing to meet its commitment" to close the land border with the areas of Bosnia and Herzegovina under the Bosnian Serb control, Lord David Owen and Thorvald Stoltenberg, Co-Chairmen of the Steering Committee of the International Conference on the Former Yugoslavia (ICFY), reported on 30 March *(S/1995/255)*.

The ICFY Mission, deployed since 14 September 1994, had 163 personnel on duty. The number of observers would continue to fall "until the minimal threshold of 150 is reached or until such time as the current financial constraints are eased", they stated.

By the Mission's own calculations, an observer complement below 150 might not be able to provide "sufficiently credible information" to certify the FRY compliance, the report said.

Mission Coordinator Tauno Nieminen of Finland found that after he had signed two memoranda of understanding with FRY Customs—on the control of buses and on supplies of humanitarian aid through the Yugoslav Red Cross—the improvements were "significant and substantial", and that a "very tight level of control" had been achieved.

FRY compliance had also been certified by the Co-Chairmen on 1 March and 2 February as they continued to report to the Council every 30 days on border closure measures, pursuant to resolution 943 (1994).

Human rights report

There had been an "escalation in the military targeting of civilians" by Bosnian Serb forces in Bosnia and Herzegovina, resulting in "daily loss of life and injury", Commission on Human Rights Special Rapporteur Tadeusz Mazowiecki reported *(A/50/69-S/1995/79)* on 26 January.

Among other problems were: the intransigence of the Bosnian Croat local authorities in the Mostar region, "hampering the re-establishment of civil society" within the spirit and terms of the Bosniac-Croat Federation; and "severe difficulties" in delivering humanitarian aid caused by the Bosnian Serbs, as well as by Bosnian Croat local authorities.

In expressing "great concern" over the military activities in the Bosnian enclave of Bihac of the "Republic of Serb Krajina" forces—which had resorted to "inhumane practices and indiscriminate methods of warfare" and acted "in contravention of some of the most basic provisions of international humanitarian law"—the Special Rapporteur called upon the local authorities in Croatia to "ensure the protection of the most vulnerable members of their communities".

Also, "expressions of hatred must be eliminated from the media vocabulary", Mr. Mazowiecki said in a 27 January special report on the media *(A/50/71-S/1995/80)*. "Without the elimination of incitements to hatred, a viable solution to the crisis in the former Yugoslavia will be impossible to achieve", he stressed.

The media had been "among the most important tools in propagating the military conflict in the region", themselves instigating or inspiring many violations of human rights and international humanitarian law, the report said.

UN Photo 182521/A. Morvan

UN aircraft have delivered more than 150,000 tons of food, medicines and other humanitarian aid since July 1992.

Longest airlift in history

On 29 March, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) humanitarian airlift to Sarajevo—the longest such operation in aviation history, surpassing the 1948-1949 Berlin airlift on 8 October 1993—marked its one-thousandth day.

Since 3 July 1992, more than 151,000 metric tons of life-saving food, medical supplies and other aid had been delivered by UNHCR into the besieged Bosnian capital, with a total of 12,195 sorties flown as of 28 March from some 20 countries and five organizations, the UNHCR reported. During some worst months of the war, the airlift had supplied more than 95 per cent of the humanitarian assistance to the city, UNHCR said.

'Despite the success of this air bridge in keeping people alive, there is nothing the UNHCR and the residents of Sarajevo would like better than to see the Sarajevo airlift to come to a final, peaceful end", High Commissioner Sadako Ogata stated. "The fact that this operation has had to continue for 1,000 days is nothing to celebrate", she stressed.

UN humanitarian assistance to Sarajevo and elsewhere in Bosnia and Herzegovina had "saved thousands of lives", Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali announced on 27 January.

In 1994 alone, some 122,000 metric tons of food had been delivered to Sarajevo by road and air "under very adverse circumstances" to help 440,000 displaced and afflicted persons.

In Bihac, although a UNHCR's 10-truck convoy had finally delivered 96 metric tons of food and medicine to the embattled Bosnian enclave, it remained "extremely concerned" about security and the lack of food in the area, the UNHCR said on 16 February. The shortage of food was "affecting the entire population of some 200,000 people".

On 1 February, the Security Council Committee established pursuant to resolution 724 (1991) to monitor the implementation of the arms embargo against the former Yugoslavia decided that applications concerning legitimate humanitarian assistance from international humanitarian agencies—namely, the International Committee of the Red Cross, the UN Children's Fund, UNHCR, the World Food Programme and the World Health Organization—would be processed on a top priority basis. ■

Cease-fire for Chechnya urged

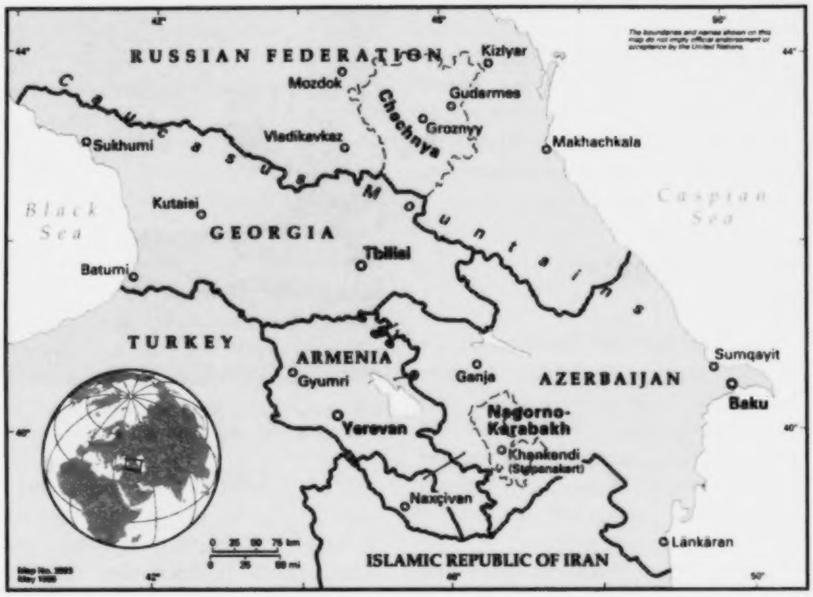
A call for an immediate cease-fire in Chechnya—an autonomous North Caucasus republic within the Russian Federation—was made on 27 February at the UN Commission on Human Rights' session in Geneva.

In deploring "grave violations of human rights before and after the beginning of the present crisis", Commission Chairman Musa bin Hitam of Malaysia called for the unhindered delivery of humanitarian aid to all groups of the civilian population in that area.

On 9 March, the Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, in expressing alarm over what it called a "disproportionate use of force" by the Russian armed forces and a "massive loss of life" in Chechnya, asked for an urgent report from the Russian Federation on details of the conflict.

A consolidated inter-agency appeal, for $22.9 million over six months to provide aid to some 220,000 persons internally displaced by the emergency in Chechnya, was launched by the UN on 22 March. The multisectoral assistance was to include: bringing the internally displaced persons to reception centres; distribution of domestic items, food, shelter material, water and sanitation; immunization and provision of basic drugs; and epidemiological surveillance, medical supplies and training.

Also, a 14-member operations team of the Geneva-based Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) travelled to the North Caucasus on 6 February to implement a three-month assistance programme, bringing more than 22 metric tons of aid and equipment, including 9.3 metric tons of wheat flour. UNHCR had earlier delivered some 120 metric tons of humanitarian assistance destined for displaced people.



Armenia, Azerbaijan

The 12 May 1994 cease-fire in Nagorny Karabakh—a mostly Armenian-populated region in Azerbaijan—was "still largely being respected", Jan Eliasson and Valentin Lozinsky, Co-Chairmen of the Minsk Conference of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), reported *(S/1995/249)* on 21 March.

The parties were committed to respect it until a political agreement on the cessation of the armed conflict had been attained, the Co-Chairmen said.

Also, they went on, an agreed basis for further talks had been discussed at a round of negotiations between them, held in February in Moscow under the auspices of the Co-Chairmanship of the Conference.

On 11 February, a preliminary agreement for the "immediate release of all persons wounded, sick and over 50 years of age" had been reached, and earlier commitments to "release all women and minors" had been reconfirmed, the Co-Chairmen stated. In addition, the parties agreed to establish a working group to deal with the issue of civilian detainees and prisoners of war.

They believed that a "maximum guarantee to the political agreement", as well as of the "speedy achievement of an effective comprehensive settlement", would be an OSCE peace-keeping operation in the area. If such an operation were carried out, "continuous political support" from the Security Council and overall UN technical advice and expertise would be necessary, the Co-Chairmen stressed.

On 23 March, the UN Department of Humanitarian Affairs launched a consolidated inter-agency appeal for $118 million to fund humanitarian programmes for one year in Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia. At the regional level, some $13.6 million would be for logistical costs and $5.3 million for disease control.

The Department indicated that the lack of a durable political solution to the conflicts in the Caucasus was hindering the return of displaced populations, totalling some 890,000 in Azerbaijan, 380,000 in Armenia and 280,000 in Georgia. ■

TAJIKISTAN

Extension of observer mission endorsed by Council

Security Council members on 6 March endorsed the Secretary-General's recommendation to extend the presence of the United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT) until 26 April 1995.

In the interim, they urged the Tajik parties—the Government and the opposition—to "resolve the remaining difficulties in arranging the fourth round of inter-Tajik talks aimed at reaching a political settlement to the conflict".

An earlier extension, until 6 March—the first since UNMOT's establishment under Council resolution 968 (1994) on 16 December 1994—was endorsed by Council members on 6 February.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 3 March informed *(S/1995/179)* the Council that the parties had agreed to extend their cease-fire, after negotiations conducted by Under-Secretary-General Aldo Ajello with the Russian Federation officials in Moscow (24-27 February), the Government of Tajikistan in Dushanbe (28 February-1 March) and the Tajik opposition in Islamabad, Pakistan (2-4 March).

The initial cease-fire agreement, signed on 17 September 1994 in Teheran, Iran was first extended until 6 February—during the third round of inter-Tajik talks on national reconciliation, held from 20 October to 1 November in Islamabad—and then until 6 March.

However, the situation in Tajikistan remained "tense, particularly on the border with Afghanistan", the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/105)* on 4 February. The economic crisis had had a "serious negative impact on efforts to reach political stabilization in the country and to complete the repatriation of refugees", he said.

The activities of UNMOT were an "important stabilizing factor", and that was recognized by both parties, Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated. "Although the fourth round of inter-Tajik talks remains blocked, both sides still say they are determined to continue the political process" under the auspices of the UN, he stressed.

Also, UNMOT had continued to provide political liaison and coordination for humanitarian assistance, which was indispensable, especially for the most vulnerable elements of Tajik society, the Secretary-General went on. Unfortunately, the mission had not been able so far to arrange effective liaison with the opposition's field commanders in northern Afghanistan, he said. ■

AFGHANISTAN

Secretary-General appeals for halt to further hostilities

Deeply concerned over a "recent upsurge in fighting in Afghanistan", particularly in Kabul, which had caused many civilian casualties, the Secretary-General on 8 March strongly appealed to all involved to implement an immediate cease-fire and "refrain from initiating further hostilities, which do not serve the interest of the Afghan people nor of peace".

All sides were also called upon to cooperate with the ongoing efforts of the UN Special Mission to Afghanistan, headed by Ambassador Mahmoud Mestiri of Tunisia, and the working group of four independent Afghan personalities, "in order to facilitate a peaceful transition of power in the country".

In February, Ambassador Mestiri undertook consultations with Afghan faction leaders, with a view to finalizing a list of names to constitute a mechanism for a transfer of power in the country. All the leaders had agreed in principle to the mechanism, it was reported.

The UN Children's Fund (UNICEF) reported on 3 March that the effects of war and civil conflict had caused the deaths of more than 1 million people in Afghanistan since 1979. Over 2.5 million had been injured or disabled; some 6 million were forced to flee as refugees, and some 2 million had been displaced internally.

Kabul had been "largely destroyed, with more than one half of its population displaced" since 1992, and international assistance had "declined precipitously", UNICEF went on. Refugees were placed under pressure to return home, where they faced "uncertain security and employment, and an absence of basic services". Although "most Afghans live in poverty and insecurity", the situation of Afghan women and children had "always been among the worst in the world". During the war years, "perhaps 10 times as many children died from malnutrition and disease as from war-related causes", UNICEF stated. ■

UNOMIG mandate extended

Council calls for progress

Calling upon the Georgian Government and the leaders of Abkhazia—a small Black Sea enclave in Georgia—to "reach substantive progress" in their negotiations, the Security Council on 12 January extended the mandate of the United Nations Observer Mission in Georgia (UNOMIG) until 15 May 1995.

In unanimously adopting resolution 971 (1995), the Council also encouraged Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to continue efforts aimed at achieving a "comprehensive political settlement of the conflict, including on the political status of Abkhazia, respecting fully the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Republic of Georgia".

The parties were also called upon to comply with their commitments under the 4 April 1994 Quadripartite Agreement on the voluntary return of refugees and displaced persons, and the Abkhaz side in particular was urged to "accelerate the process significantly".

The Secretary-General was asked to examine, within the existing UNOMIG mandate, the "possibility of additional steps to contribute to conditions conducive to the safe and orderly return of refugees and displaced persons".

The Council also decided to undertake, on the basis of a report to be submitted by 4 May 1995 and in light of any progress achieved towards a political settlement and the return of refugees and displaced persons, a "thorough review of the situation in Abkhazia, Republic of Georgia".

Deeply concerned over the "lack of progress regarding the return of refugees and displaced persons" and deploring the "continued obstruction" by the Abkhaz authorities, the Council on 17 March said it expected the parties to implement fully their obligations under the Quadripartite Agreement.

Sukhumi, capital of Abkhazia, in the Gumista Valley. Many Georgians who left towns in Abkhazia are still refugees.

A 'safe and orderly return' desired

In a statement by its President, Li Zhaoxing of China, the Council—noting that the cooperation between UNOMIG and the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) was "critical to the safe and orderly return of refugees and displaced persons"—also urged the Abkhaz authorities to agree to a timetable on the basis of that proposed by UNHCR.

It called upon the parties to "provide a secure environment, *inter alia*, to provide security for returning refugees and displaced persons and to ensure that international relief supplies can be delivered safely".

Although there had been "little overall progress in achieving a comprehensive political settlement" and a stalemate existed with respect to the return of refugees and displaced persons, the Council took note of the "movement which has occurred in the political talks" held in Geneva from 7 to 9 February.

The Geneva talks in February and the ensuing expert discussions in Moscow (15-17 February and 1-3 March) had been "constructive and businesslike, and a certain substantive momentum has been tentatively established", the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/181)* on 6 March.

For the first time, there had been a "productive dialogue" between the two sides, and common language had been found on "some of the many issues related to the identification of a political status for Abkhazia acceptable to both sides", he said.

However, "core areas of disagreement" included: recognition of the territorial integrity of Georgia; characterization of the union State as federal in nature; the issue of a joint army; and "popular legitimization of an agreement".

In spite of a "generally unsatisfactory situation" in Abkhazia, the Secretary-General strongly believed that the presence of UNOMIG and the peacekeeping force of the Commonwealth of Independent States in the region had contributed greatly to preventing a resumption of hostilities and paved the way for continued political negotiations. "With patience and perseverance, solutions can be found, but it should be recognized that these two elements are not inexhaustible", he stressed. ■

Security Council authorizes sale of oil to meet humanitarian concerns

Concerned by the serious nutritional and health situation of the Iraqi population and the risk of a further deterioration in that situation, the Security Council on 14 April authorized States to permit the import of up to $1 billion in Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products every 90 days.

In unanimously adopting resolution 986 (1995), the Council, acting under Chapter VII of the UN Charter, also authorized Turkey to permit the import of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products to meet tariff charges for their transport through the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline in Turkey. That would be after deduction of an amount to be provided to the UN Compensation Fund, which deals with claims of loss, damage or injury caused by Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.

Responsibility for supervising some aspects of the implementation of the new resolution was given to the Security Council's Sanctions Committee, which monitors the restrictions imposed on Iraq following the Persian Gulf war. Each transaction must be approved by that Committee. The full amount of each purchase has to be deposited directly by the purchaser into an escrow account to be established by the Secretary-General.

The Sanctions Committee is to monitor the sale of exports supplied through the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline and from Iraq's Mina al-Bakr oil terminal, with the assistance of independent inspection agents, who would inform the Committee of the amount exported and verify that they were sold at reasonable market value. The resolution also provided that the larger share of those exports should be shipped via the pipeline, and the remainder to come from the terminal.

UN Photo 61562/PB/vmb

Oil sales of up to $1 billion every three months will be allowed. *Above*, workers at an Iraqi oil refinery.

UN Photo 158310/J. Isaac

Humanitarian concerns prompted the Council action. *Above*, young Iraqi girls fetch water from a roadside tap in Erbil.

No response from Iraq

A UN spokesman on 17 April reported that the Organization had not received a formal written response from Iraq regarding its acceptance or non-acceptance of the resolution. However, the press had reported a negative reaction and the Secretary-General had asked him to say that he regretted Iraq's attitude, as reported by the press, and hoped that the Government would reconsider its position.

In informal meetings in January and March, the comprehensive economic sanctions against Iraq, imposed by Council resolution 661 (1990) of August 1990, during Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait, were continued after the Council decided that there was no agreement that the necessary conditions existed for their modification.

The easing of sanctions was to occur on the day after the Council President informed its member that the Secretary-General had reported that effective implementation of the resolution had been taken. The exception to the sanctions were to remain in force for an initial period of 180 days, unless the Council decided otherwise.

The funds in the escrow account were to be used for:

- Financing the export to Iraq of medicine, health supplies, foodstuffs, and materials and supplies for essential civilian needs. All such exports must be at the request of the Iraqi Government, which must effectively guarantee their equitable distribution on the basis of a plan submitted to and approved by the Secretary-General;
- Ensuring the equitable distribution of humanitarian relief throughout Iraq by providing between $130 million and $150 million every 90 days to the UN Inter-Agency Humanitarian Programme operating within the sovereign territory of Iraq in the three northern Governorates of Dihouk, Arbil and Suleimaniyeh. That amount would be reduced proportionally, if the total collected every 90 days was less than $1 billion;
- Transferring from the escrow account an amount not to exceed 30 per cent of its funds to the UN Compensation Fund;
- Meeting the costs of UN activities associated with implementation of the resolution and the current operating costs of the Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament, set up under resolution 687 (1991);
- Meeting any reasonable expenses directly related to the export of Iraqi petroleum and petroleum products or to the export to Iraq of parts and equipment needed for the safe operation of the Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline system, subject to the Committee's prior approval;
- Making available up to $10 million every 90 days for payments to replace funds already provided by States under resolution 778 (1992). (By that resolution, the Council had decided that all States with funds derived from the sale of Iraqi petroleum or petroleum products should transfer those funds to an escrow account established by the Secretary-General.)

The Council also affirmed that nothing in resolution 986 (1995) should be construed as infringing Iraq's sovereignty or territorial integrity. Persons appointed by the Secretary-General to implement the resolution should enjoy all relevant privileges and immunities, and the Iraqi Government should allow them full freedom of movement and all necessary facilities for the discharge of their duties.

A thorough review of its implementation was to be undertaken by the Council 90 days after its entry into force and again prior to the end of the initial 180-day period. The Council would then consider favourably renewing the resolution, provided it received a positive report from the Secretary-General on Iraq's equitable distribution of materials and supplies for essential civilian needs, as well as on expedited procedures necessary to be developed by the Sanctions Committee.

The Council also decided that the petroleum and its products covered by the resolution should, while under Iraqi title, be immune from legal proceedings and not be subject to any form of attachment, garnishment or execution.

Further, until funds began to be paid into the escrow account, the costs of exports and activities relating to the

UNIKOM mandate extended

The Security Council on 10 April decided to maintain the mandate of the UN Iraq-Kuwait Observer Mission (UNIKOM) until further review by 7 October 1995.

On 31 March, the Secretary-General reported *(S/1995/251)* to the Council that UNIKOM should be maintained, as it had contributed significantly to the reduction of tension and the preservation of calm in its area of operation. Calm had generally prevailed over the last six months along the border and in the demilitarized zone (DMZ) between Iraq and Kuwait. However, there had been a period of tension in October 1994 in connection with reports about the deployment of Iraqi troops north of the DMZ.

The Secretary-General also reported that on 13 March, two United States citizens had been apprehended by Iraqi police after mistakenly crossing the border. The two had been allowed to pass a UNIKOM checkpoint because, with darkness falling, the sentries on duty mistook their white vehicle for one belonging to the UN. The procedures at the checkpoint had since been tightened and the Organization was making an effort to have the two men released.

Kirkuk-Yumurtalik pipeline system in Iraq might exceptionally be financed by letters of credit drawn against future oil sales, the proceeds of which were to be deposited in the account.

Debate

In Council debate, while a number of speakers noted that the resolution affirmed Iraq's sovereignty and territorial integrity, others felt it violated those principles by allocating specific sums to Iraq's three northern provinces and in determining what were essentially bilateral relations between Iraq and Turkey.

Several speakers cited Iraq's cooperative attitude leading up to the resolution's adoption and expressed the hope that it would maintain that attitude in order to alleviate the suffering of its people. Iraq was urged to comply fully with all relevant Council resolutions so that the sanctions against it might be lifted.

A number of speakers stressed that while sanctions could be an effective instrument to influence the actions of certain States in the interest of maintaining international peace and security, it was important to mitigate their effects on innocent civilian populations. The resolution was seen as a positive step in that direction.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali expressed hope that the resolution, if implemented by Iraq, would be a first step towards overcoming the crisis which existed between Iraq and the international community. "Based on a step-by-step approach, I am hopeful that we will soon reach the time when Iraq implements the resolutions of the Security Council and that this would lead to a total lifting of the sanctions", he said.

Recognizing Kuwait

The Secretary-General announced on 25 January that documents transmitted by Iraq, affirming its recognition of the sovereignty, territorial integrity and political independence of Kuwait, as endorsed by Council resolution 833 (1993), had been deposited into the UN official archives.

The Kuwaiti Cabinet, in a statement, said that the decision on recognition taken by Iraq in November 1994 was a step in the right direction for Iraq's implementation of all the Council resolutions relating to its aggression against Kuwait.

On 9 January, in a letter to the Council President *(S/1995/13)*, Kuwait added that it attached the utmost importance to the issue of prisoners and hostages. Two years after it had taken delivery of over 600 individual files through the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC), Iraq had not permitted the ICRC to visit the place where persons were imprisoned or detained.

> “To mitigate the effect of sanctions on innocent civilian populations”

The Chairman of the Special Commission on Iraqi disarmament on 17 March reported *(S/1995/208)* to the Security Council on ongoing monitoring and verification of Iraq's compliance with resolution 687 (1991) on the chemical, biological and missile aspects.

Revised annexes were provided, listing items to be reported by the exporting countries to the Special Commission and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA). The Special Commission elaborated upon the generic descriptions in the annexes so that customs and control authorities would know precisely what items would be subject to notification.

After receiving reports of Turkish invasion into Iraq to "achieve its stated goal of preventing attacks by Kurdish rebels based in northern Iraq", the Secretary-General on 23 March urged Turkey to exercise restraint and take all measures to ensure the safety of the civilian population, including refugees, in the area.

The Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) expressed deep concern for the safety of some 4,500 Kurdish refugees from Turkey living in villages close to the border.

Other issues

The Governing Council of the UN Compensation Commission—set up by Council resolution 692 (1991) to review compensation claims resulting from Iraq's invasion and occupation of Kuwait—at its sixteenth regular session (21-23 March) approved compensation awards to more than 162,800 individual claimants who were forced to flee either Iraq or Kuwait (category A claims). It also approved 800 claims for serious personal injury or death (category B).

The Governing Council expressed concern at the current financial situation of the compensation fund which was insufficient to pay the awards and urged prompt action to maintain the "dynamics of the operation".

On 19 January, the Governing Council elected Giuseppe Baldocci of Italy as the Commission's President for 1995-1996. Soemadi Brotodiningrat of Indonesia was elected Vice-President.

On 21 March, the UN launched a consolidated inter-agency appeal to raise $183 million for humanitarian programmes in Iraq. Key sectors and activities include health, water and sanitation, food aid and the reduction of malnutrition, education, agricultural support and assistance to returnees and refugees.

The programmes address essential relief and rehabilitation activities, and aim to prevent a further deterioration of the conditions affecting the most vulnerable population groups in the country. ■

Security Council discusses Supplement to 'Agenda for Peace'

Endorsing the crucial importance of economic and social development as a secure basis for lasting peace, the Security Council on 22 February urged States to support UN efforts in preventive and post-conflict peace-building activities by providing the necessary assistance for the economic and social development of countries.

The action followed an intense review of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali's position paper, "Supplement to An Agenda for Peace" *(A/50/60-S/1995/1)*, which was issued on 25 January.

"The times call for thinking afresh, for striving together and for creating new ways to overcome crises", the Secretary-General stated.

"This is because the different world that emerged when the cold war ceased is still a world not fully understood. The changed face of conflict today requires us to be perceptive, adaptive, creative and courageous, and to address simultaneously the immediate as well as the root causes of conflict, which all too often lie in the absence of economic opportunities and social inequities. Perhaps above all it requires a deeper commitment to cooperation and true multilateralism than humanity has ever achieved before."

In a statement by its President, Legwaila J. Legwaila of Botswana, the Council recognized the crucial importance of the availability of resources for activities to sustain international peace and security, and urged Member States to honour their financial obligations to the UN.

Discussions took place over three Council meetings held on 18 and 19 January, constituting the first stage of consideration of the position paper.

UN Photos

As of 31 March 1995, UN peace-keepers were involved in 17 operations worldwide. The Secretary-General says the 50th anniversary of the Organization presents an opportunity to assess their successes and failures and new ways to overcome crises.

The Supplement details a wide range of issues, among them: the dramatic changes in the quantity and nature of activities in the field of peace and security since the Security Council Summit held on 31 January 1992, which had resulted in the Secretary-General's "An genda for Peace".

Other areas discussed were: UN instruments for conflict control and resolution, including preventive diplomacy and peacemaking; peace-keeping; post-conflict peace-building; sanctions; enforcement; disarmament; and the need for financial resources.

The failure of Member States to pay their assessed contributions for activities that they themselves had voted into being, the Secretary-General stressed, made it impossible to carry out those activities to the standard expected.

In its 22 February statement, the Council welcomed the Secretary-General's analysis of peace-keeping operations. It also urged him to strengthen Secretariat units dealing directly with sanctions, so that matters were addressed in an "effective, consistent and timely" manner.

The Council wanted appropriate measures taken to ensure that humanitarian supplies reached affected populations, and appropriate consideration given to submissions by third party States affected by special economic problems as a result of imposition of sanctions.

The Council encouraged continued study of options to improve UN capacity for rapid deployment and reinforcement of peace-keeping operations, including establishment of a comprehensive database to cover civilian and military resources. It strongly supported the Secretary-General's conclusion that such operations needed an effective information capacity.

Addressing the issue of "micro-disarmament", the Council shared concern over the negative consequences for international peace and security arising from the illicit traffic in conventional weapons, including small arms. The search for effective solutions to that problem should begin now, it was stated.

The vital importance of strict implementation of existing arms embargo régimes was stressed. Deep concern was expressed over the tremendous humanitarian problems caused by mines and other unexploded devices to populations of mine-infested countries.

A new breed of conflict

In his paper, the Secretary-General said that the fiftieth anniversary of the UN presented an opportunity to assess the successes and failures of its peace-keeping operations and new ways to overcome crises.

> “When state institutions collapse, UN peace-keepers are called on to carry out new tasks”

Most current conflicts were within States, fought by armies and irregular forces, with civilians as the main victims and many state institutions destroyed, he said. There were 5 operations in early 1988, only 1 of which concerned intra-State conflict. Since then, 21 had been established, 13 of them involving intra-State conflicts.

Those efforts had called for increasingly complex and expensive interventions, which went far beyond the more traditional cease-fire and buffer zone monitoring and control, he said.

The "new breed" of intra-State conflicts often involved humanitarian emergencies, which combatant authorities often lacked the capacity to address, the Secretary-General stated. For example, the number of refugees had increased from 13 million in 1987 to 26 million in 1994, with an even greater increase in the number of internally displaced persons.

With the complete collapse of state institutions, the UN was being called upon to promote national reconciliation and re-establish effective government, in addition to carrying out its humanitarian and military tasks.

UN forces were being used to protect humanitarian operations. In Bosnia and Herzegovina and in Somalia, that function had led to a new kind of UN operation where the mandate authorized the use of force for limited and local purposes, and not to bring the war to an end.

Another kind of operation had been deployed with success in such places as Namibia, Angola, El Salvador, Cambodia and Mozambique, where negotiated settlements had already been reached. The UN was then called upon to help the parties implement a comprehensive settlement and undertake an unprecedented variety of functions such as: supervision of cease-fires; regroupment and demobilization of forces, their reintegration into civilian life and the destruction of their weapons; design and implementation of demining programmes; return of refugees and displaced persons; provision of humanitarian assistance; supervision of existing administrative structures; establishment of new police forces; verification of respect for human rights; design and supervision of constitutional, judicial and electoral reforms; observation, supervision and even organization and conduct of elections; and coordination of support for economic rehabilitation and reconstruction.

Such multifunctional operations had highlighted the role the UN could play, following a negotiated settlement, to ensure that the original causes of the war were eradicated.

The UN had developed a number of instruments to control and resolve conflicts. The most important were preventive diplomacy and peacemaking, peace-keeping and peace-building, which could be employed only with the consent of the parties to the conflict. Other instruments were sanctions and enforcement, which were coercive measures, and disarmament, that could take place with agreement or in a coercive context.

While these instruments were often employed by regional organizations, ad hoc groups of States or individual States, the Secretary-General stressed that the UN system was better equipped to develop and apply the comprehensive, long-term approach needed to ensure the lasting resolution of conflicts.

Preventive diplomacy preferable

In resolving potential and actual conflicts, preventive diplomacy and peacemaking were obviously preferable to major politico-military efforts after fighting had broken out.

While the greatest obstacle to success in such endeavours came from the reluctance of one or more parties to accept UN help, the Organization had encountered two practical problems in the field, the Secretary-General stated.

The first was the difficulty of finding senior persons with the diplomatic skills and willingness to serve as special representatives or envoys.

The second was the establishment and financing of small field missions for preventive diplomacy and peacemaking. The source of legislative authority for such matters was unclear among Member States, and current budgetary procedures were not well-suited to meet their needs.

The Secretary-General offered two possible solutions: to include a $25-million contingency provision per biennium in the regular budget; and to enlarge the existing provision for unforeseen and extraordinary activities and make it available for all preventive and peace-making activities.

The Secretary-General stated that consent of the parties, impartiality and non-use of force, except in self-defence, were crucial elements to the success of any peace-keeping operation. In recent mandates, the tasks of protecting humanitarian operations and civilian populations during continued warfare, as well as pressing the parties to achieve a faster pace of national reconciliation, had led to forfeiture of the parties' consent.

In the case of Somalia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, existing peace-keeping operations—with mandates requiring consent of parties, impartiality and non-use of force—were given additional mandates that required the use of force.

The Secretary-General emphasized: "Nothing is more dangerous for a peace-keeping operation than to ask it to use force when its existing composition, armament, logistic support and deployment deny it the capacity to do so." Enforcement tasks should not be mandated to a peace-keeping mission and the temptation to use military power to speed up the frustrating and lengthy process of negotiated solutions should be resisted, he added.

Other difficulties related to command and control, troop and equipment availability, and information capacity. Under the three levels of authority, the Security Council provides the overall political direction, the Secretary-General is responsible for executive direction, and the Chief of Mission is entrusted with command in the field.

The distinctions between the three levels must be kept constantly in mind. There must be no opening for the parties to a conflict to undermine a mission's unity of command. Troop-contributing governments should not provide guidance or orders to their contingents on operational matters, the Secretary-General said.

Troop availability declines

The availability of troops and equipment had declined as the UN requirements increased, the Secretary-General pointed out. Considerable effort had been made to expand stand-by arrangements, but there was no guarantee that troops would be provided, as was the case in the decision to expand the United Nations Assistance Mission for Rwanda (UNAMIR).

The UN should give serious thought to the idea of a rapid reaction force, to serve as the Council's strategic reserve for emergency peace-keeping deployment. It might comprise battalion-sized units from a number of countries which would be trained to the same standards and use the same operating methods.

Regarding the growing problem of equipping and training troops, it might be necessary to establish a reserve stock of standard peace-keeping equipment, as well as partnerships between Governments needing equipment and those ready to provide it. The increased use of sanctions required a mechanism that would assess potential impact on third countries.

Capacity for enforcement

Enforcement action was at present beyond the capacity of the UN, except on a very limited scale, the Secretary-General noted. While in the long-term, the UN should develop such a capacity, currently the Council was essentially limited to authorizing Member States, acting nationally or regionally, to carry out enforcement tasks.

Such group arrangements, while preferable to unilateral use of force, sometimes had a negative impact on the credibility of the UN. There was also a danger that the States involved might claim approval for actions not envisaged by the Council.

In the area of coordination, the recent trend of establishing informal groups of Member States, referred to as "Friends of the Secretary-General", had proven valuable in a number of instances, he said.

Cooperation between the UN and regional organizations had occurred in the forms of diplomatic support, consultations, operational support, co-deployment and joint operations.

He said that the necessary financial resources must be provided if the UN "instruments for peace and security" were to be employed effectively.

The credibility of the Organization was also damaged when the Council adopted decisions which could not be carried out because the necessary troops were not forthcoming, the Secretary-General concluded. ■

Work on nuclear-test ban continues

Views on security assurances heard

A pledge not to use nuclear weapons against non-nuclear-weapon States parties to the 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT)—"except in the case of an invasion or any other attack" on their territories—highlighted the conclusion of the first part of the 1995 Conference on Disarmament (31 January-6 April, Geneva).

Photo L. Bianco

The 1995 Conference opened on 31 January *(top)*. Conference President Alessandro Vattani of Italy *(front, second from left)* addressing the session. To the *left*, Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs Walter Gardini of Italy.

In a joint statement on 6 April, France, the Russian Federation, the United Kingdom and the United States called for the "unconditional and indefinite continuation" of the NPT.

During the debate, China, also a nuclear-weapon State, in urging a "smooth extension" of the NPT, said that its undertaking was it would not be the first to use nuclear weapons at any time or under any circumstances, nor would it use or threaten to use them against non-nuclear States or nuclear-weapon-free zones.

A number of delegations welcomed those statements as an important contribution to a successful conclusion of the 1995 NPT Review and Extension Conference (17 April-12 May, New York).

The "Group of 21" non-aligned and neutral countries stressed the need for an "unconditional, multilaterally-negotiated and legally binding" convention on negative security assurances, which renounce the use of nuclear weapons, to be negotiated in the Conference on Disarmament.

In a joint statement, they also called for positive assurances—providing support to a victim of a nuclear-weapon attack—that "go beyond a mere reiteration of the principles of the UN Charter", and declared that Article 51 "should not be interpreted as legitimizing the use of nuclear weapons".

Although it was generally conceded that security assurances were an integral part of the non-proliferation regime and an essential element for NPT extension, the 38-member Conference—the world's sole multilateral disarmament body—was still unable to re-establish the Ad Hoc Committee on that item.

Divergencies of view also prevented the Conference from re-establishing Ad Hoc Committees on transparency in armaments and on prevention of an arms race in outer space. It also was not able to address the issue of membership expansion.

A record number of non-member States—51—were invited to participate in the 1995 Conference.

During the session, the Ad Hoc Committee on a Nuclear-Test Ban continued efforts to streamline provisions for a future treaty, finally adopting a revised rolling text.

However, some major problems remained unresolved, with nuclear-weapon States failing to agree on such basic questions as inclusion of definitions of a nuclear explosion and activities to be permitted under a treaty.

Entry into force, implementation, funding and amendment procedure were also problematic issues. Sweden and Brazil, for example, strongly supported the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) as the implementing organization, whereas the United States, India, China and some other countries preferred an independent body.

Verification was another contentious subject. China and the "Group of 21" opposed the use of national technical means for data collection, because they believed it would give an unfair advantage to the more technically advanced countries.

Most States agreed that the treaty should be of unlimited duration.

A new Ad Hoc Committee—on the Prohibition of the Production of Fissile Material for Nuclear Weapons or Other Nuclear Explosive Devices—was set up on 23 March.

There were varying interpretations of its negotiating mandate. Western and Eastern European groups, as well as India, wanted the ban confined to future production of fissile material, while the "Group of 21" believed that it should also encompass existing stocks.

It was generally felt that the Conference, when it resumed work at the end of May following the NPT Review Conference, might benefit from an improved political climate, which would enable it to solve some existing problems.

'Paramount importance'

"Our common efforts to stop the flow of arms and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction acquire even greater significance in the context of an increasing number of regional and subregional conflicts", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali told the Conference at its opening meeting on 31 January, in a message delivered by his Personal Representative, Vladimir Petrovsky, the Conference Secretary-General and Director-General of the UN Geneva Office.

In calling for an early consensus on important, unresolved issues on a comprehensive nuclear-test ban, the Secretary-General noted that the "negative impact of uncontrolled conventional arms transfers" on international security had to be vigorously addressed.

"We should bear in mind that ongoing conflicts are being fought with conventional weapons, exacting a heavy toll and causing untold human suffering", he stated. "Therefore, openness and transparency in military matters are essential to enhance confidence and trust among States, to help dissipate suspicions, and to contribute to global and regional stability."

Although the UN Register on Conventional Arms, established by the General Assembly in 1992, was an important element in that regard, Mr. Boutros-Ghali called for efforts to "develop universal and non-discriminatory practical means to increase openness and transparency", thus paving the way for a "more secure world with lesser reliance on weapons".

The contribution of the Conference to the "attainment of our common goals cannot be over-emphasized", since its agenda included "items of paramount importance for the furtherance of these objectives", he concluded. ■

Preparations for NPT Review Conference concluded

A 21-item agenda was suggested for consideration by the Review and Extension Conference of States Parties to the 1970 Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), to be held in New York from 17 April to 12 May.

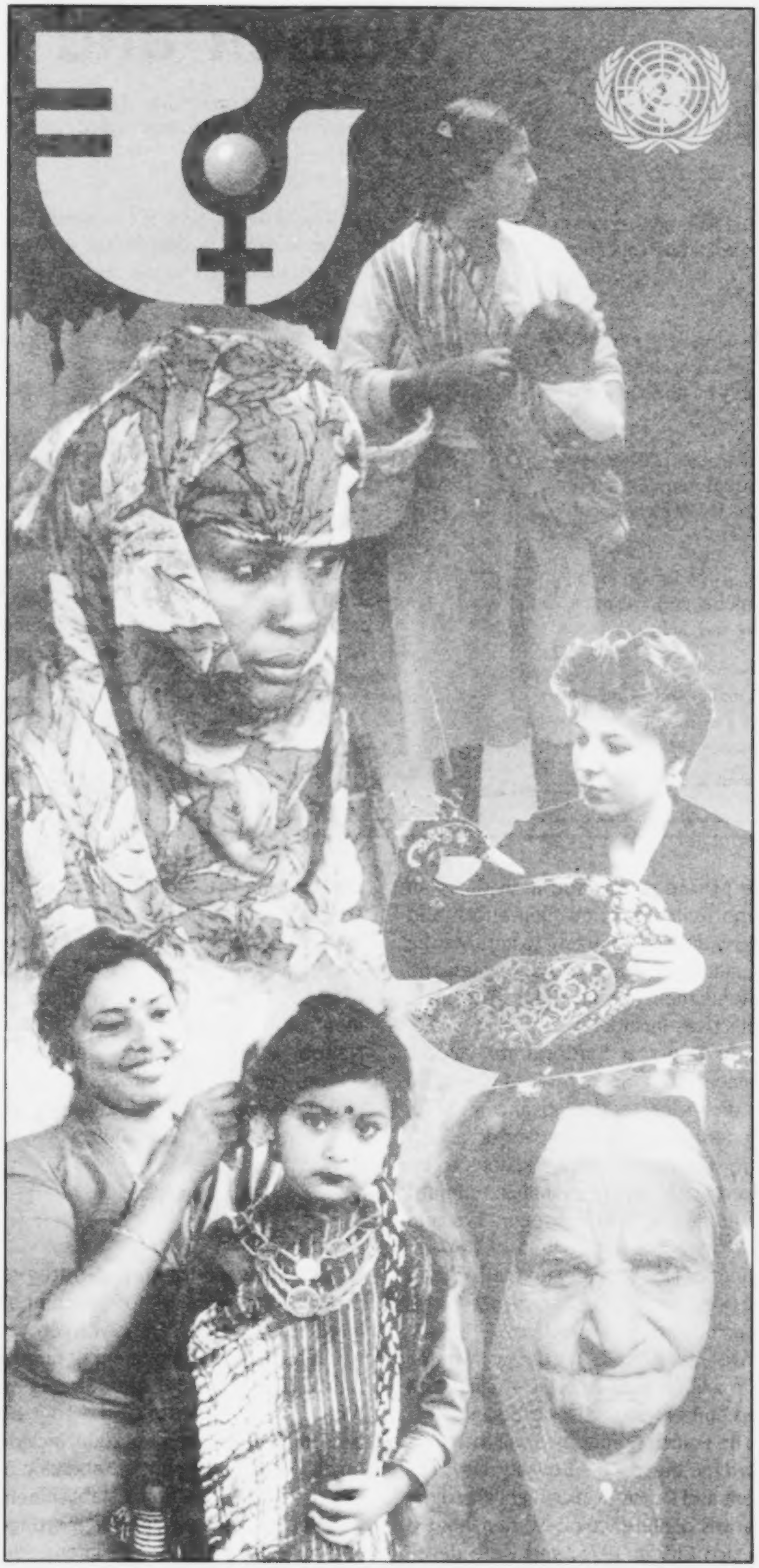
The Preparatory Committee for the Conference, at its fourth and final session (23-27 January, New York), also recommended that three subsidiary bodies be established to discuss the following: non-proliferation of nuclear weapons, disarmament and international peace and security, and the use of security assurances (Main Committee I); non-proliferation, safeguards and nuclear-weapon-free zones (Main Committee II); and the inalienable right of States parties to conduct research, produce and use nuclear energy for peaceful purposes (Main Committee III).

The NPT—designed to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons and weapons technology and to further the goal of general and complete disarmament—is the most widely adhered to multilateral Treaty, after the UN Charter. It establishes a safeguards system under the responsibility of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) and promotes cooperation in the peaceful uses of nuclear technology.

The Review Conference serves as both a quinquennial review of the Treaty's operation and a conference to determine whether the Treaty should be extended indefinitely or for a fixed period or periods.

The NPT was signed in July 1968 and entered into force in March 1970 with 97 signatures and 47 ratifications. Four review conferences have taken place since the Treaty entered into force; each has sought to assess implementation of the Treaty and recommend measures to strengthen it in a final document.

Agreement on a final document was reached during the 1975 and 1985 Conferences, but not at the sessions in 1980 and 1990. Differences centred on the question of whether or not the nuclear-weapon States had sufficiently complied with their obligations regarding such issues as continued nuclear testing, qualitative nuclear-weapon developments and security assurances to non-nuclear-weapon States.



Seeking Action for Equality, Development, Peace

by Nancy Seufert-Barr

Moving into the 21st century, the drive for women's rights has accelerated and taken on a powerful and global momentum. In the 20 years since the first global conference on women's issues was held in Mexico City, the campaign for equality between women and men has witnessed significant changes and undeniable advances.

Not only have Governments adopted major legislation that promotes equal opportunities, treatment and rights, but women are now entering the labour market in unprecedented numbers, pursuing a greater role at all levels of public life, and gaining crucial access to proper health care, education and civil justice.

But how much have these advances improved the everyday life of the average woman? The picture is mixed. Despite growing evidence that investments in women have had an enormous impact on society as a whole, millions of individual women continue to face discrimination in social, economic, political and cultural spheres:

- In 1993, only six women around the world headed Governments. Currently, only 6 of the 184 ambassadors to the UN are women.

Women and t

1945 UN Charter—the first international instrument to establish principle of equality for men and women—is adopted.

1946 Commission on the Status of Women is established to promote women's political, economic and social rights.

1949 Convention for the Suppression of the Traffic in Persons and the Exploitation of the Prostitution of Others is adopted by the General Assembly.

1951 International Labour Organisation (ILO) adopts Convention Concerning Equal Remuneration for Men and Women Workers for Work of Equal Value.

1952 General Assembly adopts Convention on Political Rights of Women, first global endorsement of political rights, including the right to vote.

1957 Convention on the Nationality of Married Women is adopted, granting women the right to retain or change their nationalities regardless of their husbands' actions.

1960 Convention Concerning Discriminatio
Respect to Employment and Occupati
adopted.

1962 General Assembly adopts Convention on
sent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Mar
and Registration of Marriages.

1967 Declaration on the Elimination of Discri
tion against Women is adopted.

1975 The World Conference of the Interna
Women's Year (Mexico City) adopts first
Plan of Action. First Decade for Women: E
ity, Development, Peace is proclaimed.

1976 Voluntary Fund for the UN Decade on W
(UNIFEM) and the UN International Res
and Training Institute for the Advancem
Women (INSTRAW) are established b
General Assembly.

- Two thirds of the world's illiterates are women and they are becoming educated at a slower rate than men.
- On average, women's salaries are 30 to 40 per cent lower than those of men, for the same work.
- Half a million women die each year from complications due to childbirth, and another 100,000 from unsafe abortions.
- Violence against women is pervasive, from the United States where a woman is battered every 18 minutes, to India where five women are burned in dowry-related disputes each day.

To assess the progress and shortfalls of the past two decades and identify action to be taken into the next century, thousands of women and men from around the world will meet in Beijing, China, from 4 to 15 September 1995 for the Fourth World Conference on Women.

This UN-sponsored global meeting will offer Governments, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), the private sector and individuals an opportunity to review their efforts and renew their commitment to improve the equality and conditions of women and defend their human rights. The main objectives include:

- To adopt a Platform for Action, concentrating on key issues identified as obstacles to the advancement of women throughout the world.
- To determine priority actions to be taken by the international community, including the UN, between 1996 and 2001 for the advancement of women.
- To mobilize women and men at both the policy-making and grass-roots levels to achieve those objectives.

A parallel "NGO Forum on Women '95" will be held from 30 August to 8 September 1995, also in Beijing.

The Fourth Conference will carry forward the themes of "Equality, Development and Peace", which highlighted the first UN conference on women, held in Mexico City in 1975, and were developed during the subsequent UN Dec
ade for Women (1976-1985).

The second World Conference, con
vened in Copenhagen in 1980, adde
three sub-themes: "Education, Employ
ment and Health". The third, held i
Nairobi in 1985, incorporated thos
themes into the Nairobi Forwar
looking Strategies for the Advancemen
of Women to the Year 2000.

Forward-looking Strategies

The Forward-looking Strategie
provided a framework for action at a
levels to promote empowerment
women and their enjoyment of huma
rights. The goals of the Strategie
which were intended to b
implemented by the year 2000, includ
equal rights for women, the abolition
slavery and prostitution, establishme
of a legal minimum age for marria
and punishment for female infanticid

UN: 1945-1995

1979 General Assembly adopts Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women.

1980 The World Conference of the UN Decade for Women (Copenhagen) reviews progress at mid-Decade.

1985 The third UN conference on women adopts the Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women to the Year 2000.

Voluntary Fund for UN Decade for Women becomes UN Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM), an autonomous organization within the UN Development Programme.

1986 First *World Survey on the Role of Women in Development* is published.

1991 *The World's Women: Trends and Statistics* is published, a compilation of data on the global situation of women.

1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro) recognizes key role of women in sustainable development.

1993 Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women is adopted by the General Assembly.

World Conference on Human Rights (Vienna) integrates violence against women and other women's rights issues into overall UN human rights agenda.

1994 International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo) marks first time empowerment of women is seen as an integral part of development.

1995 Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing) will review and debate critical areas of concern and adopt a proposed Platform for Action.

Agenda of World Summit for Social Development reflects full range of women's issues; draft declaration contains commitment to ensuring equality.

At the social policy level, the Strategies call for access by all women to maternity leave, maternal health care, family planning, nutrition and education, as well as for increased national health budgets.

In 1990, a mid-decade evaluation of the Forward-looking Strategies by the Commission on the Status of Women revealed that the world community had become more conscious and sensitive to issues affecting women. However, there seemed to be some loss of momentum in implementation.

The Fourth World Conference was planned to speed up the process of making the Forward-looking Strategies a reality and focus on new issues, such as violence against women, which have been placed on the global agenda.

Ending discrimination

One of the major achievements of the past decade has been the support by a growing number of countries for the 1979 UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, which legally binds Governments to achieve equal rights for women in all fields—political, economic, social, cultural and civil. To date, 133 countries have ratified or acceded to that Convention.

Many of those countries have placed reservations on key provisions that they view as conflicting with their religious or cultural practices, especially with regard to marriage and family law—an area notorious for discrimination against women.

Women's human rights have also gained increasing recognition in recent years, as the focus of women activists has expanded from economic development and equality to encompass more immediate and personal threats against women. For example, violence against women was not even mentioned in the 1979 Convention because it was not generally recognized as a human rights problem. Now, however, it is receiving urgent attention.

In 1993, the UN General Assembly adopted the Declaration on Violence against Women, a ground-breaking document which is the first universal legal instrument aimed specifically at combatting violence against women and putting abuse on the map of international human rights legislation.

Empowering women

Poverty is one area where the situation of women has taken a dramatic turn for the worse, given that women are generally living longer and receiving less support from families, husbands and fathers. The number of rural women living in poverty has nearly doubled over the past 20 years. Today, women constitute at least 60 per cent of the world's 1 billion rural poor.

Moreover, in many parts of the world,

girl children receive less education, less food and less health care than boys. According to World Health Organization (WHO) statistics, one sixth of all female infant deaths in India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are due to neglect and discrimination.

Nevertheless trends in education are, for the most part, encouraging. The percentage of girls and women enrolled in primary and secondary schools, as well as graduate study-programmes, is increasing. And despite the fact that women still represent two thirds of the world's illiterate, the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) predicts that only 28.2 per cent of women will be illiterate by the year 2000.

There is also concrete data that increasing women's education leads to fewer births, fewer infant deaths, more women in the formal labour force and greater economic growth.

Yet, while female life expectancy has risen and infertility has fallen, there has been little progress in reducing maternal mortality rates. Moreover, WHO is projecting that by the year 2000, more than 13 million women will be infected with the acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS) virus and some 4 million of them will have died.

At the same time, health budgets in 37 of the world's poorest countries have been halved due to the recession of the 1980s and, even in industrialized countries like the United States, gender discrimination is said to be responsible for the deaths of thousands of women.

Furthermore, women's access to political and economic power is not commensurate with their influence in other spheres of life. For example, women are the main providers of food, fuel and water for families in most of the developing world, but they constitute a minority in the corridors of power and decision-making both nationally and internationally.

While the UN Decade for Women resulted in the establishment of special offices for women's issues in many national Governments and increased the number of women in decision-making positions, progress in this area has been uneven. The proportion of women parliamentarians worldwide dropped from 12.5 per cent in 1975 to 10.1 per cent in 1993. Close to 100 countries have no women parliamentarians at all.

Of course there are exceptions. In 1993, Seychelles held the record for the highest percentage of women parliamentarians—45.8 per cent—and the Nordic countries are consistently high as well: in Finland, women comprise 39 per cent of all parliamentarians. It is notable that the developing countries have a better record of women's parliamentary representation (12 per cent) than the industrialized nations (9 per cent).

As Conference Secretary-General Gertrude Mongella of the United Republic of Tanzania puts it: "The problems of women are not different from country to country or region to region. They only differ in intensity."

Platform for Action

Meeting as the preparatory body of the Conference, the Commission on the Status of Women considered final details for the draft Platform for Action at its thirty-ninth session (15 March-7 April, New York).

The draft emanating from that session, to be presented for adoption by the Conference as a blueprint for women's advancement throughout the world, identifies 12 critical areas of concern related to the impact on women: poverty; education; health; violence; armed conflict; economic disparity; power sharing and decision-making; mechanisms to promote the advancement of women; human rights; the media; the environment; and the situation of girls.

The draft, which contains a mission statement and a global framework, identifies strategic objectives and actions to promote the advancement of women by the international community, Governments, NGOs and the private sector.

Global framework

The global framework contained in the draft document states:

"Evidence of the increasing fragility of peace, the environment and the

institutions that govern society has prompted the international community to search for alternative paths to development and security. The participation and leadership of the half of humanity that is female is essential to the success of that search. Therefore, nothing short of a radical transformation of the relationships between men and women will enable the world to meet the challenges of the new millennium."

The United Nations is no exception, the draft document asserts. "Fifty years after its creation, the United Nations continues to deny itself the benefits of women's leadership by their under-representation at decision-making levels within the Secretariat and the specialized agencies."

Pending agreement

Bracketed language, indicating that text is still pending agreement, is peppered throughout the draft, with certain references consistently placed in brackets, including those relating to sexual and reproductive health and reproductive rights.

Other references in dispute include: qualifying human rights as "universal"; foreign occupation and alien domination; the term "equity" as opposed to, or in conjunction with, "equality"; religious ethical values, cultural background and philosophical convictions; and sexual orientation.

In addition, the term "gender" is in question pending the results of further consultations. The Commission decided to form a contact group mandated to seek agreement on a common understanding of the term in the context of the draft document. The group's report will be transmitted to the Conference and considered during the pre-Conference informal consultations, to be held on 2 and 3 September.

Another proposal which has yet to be agreed to would describe the Beijing gathering as a "Conference of commitments" and would provide for annexing specific national commitments to the draft Platform for Action.

Many of the issues to be debated in Beijing have been considered at other recent high-level international gatherings, including: the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development, held in Rio; the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights, in Vienna; the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development, in Cairo; and the 1995 World Summit for Social Development, in Copenhagen.

"All of the great global concerns—the environment, human rights, population, social development—directly affect the situation of women", Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali stated on 20 March.

"Equally, improvements in the situation of women will bring positive change in each of the great global issues. Our task is to bring all these concerns and possibilities together in coherent plans of action. Our task is to integrate, one with another, the gains and the conceptual and political advances made at each of the global conferences." ■

Urge release of women hostages

In addition to finalizing the draft Platform for Action and approving a list of 1,326 NGOs for accreditation to the Fourth World Conference on Women, the Commission on the Status of Women at its 39th session also recommended that the Economic and Social Council:

- Urge the release of women and children taken hostage in armed conflicts before the opening of the Conference, and ask the Secretary-General to report on progress made in implementing the resolution;
- Urge the Secretary-General to implement fully the strategic plan of action (1995-2000) for the improvement of the status of women in the UN Secretariat;
- Decide that the Commission should establish a working group at its next session to elaborate a draft optional protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, which would introduce the right of individuals to petition the treaty-monitoring body directly in cases of violations of women's human rights; and
- Urge the international community and international financial organizations to intensify their efforts to provide assistance to Palestinian women.

The Commission also condemned the abhorrent practice of rape and abuse of women and children in the former Yugoslavia; called for special attention to the situation of rural women; urged States to promote laws that increase the status of women in agriculture, family enterprise and other sectors, and ensure the protection of rights of women migrant workers; and urged that women be included in the Middle East peace process.

Draft Platform for Action

12 Critical Areas of Concern

To provide a basis for preparatory discussions and final negotiations at the Beijing Conference, the UN Commission on the Status of Women has issued a draft Platform for Action, focusing on 12 "critical areas of concern" that have been identified as obstacles to the advancement of women. Related to these concerns, the draft proposes to:

1. Poverty

♦ Create social security systems wherever they do not exist.

♦ Develop gender-sensitive national and international policies, including those related to structural adjustment.

♦ Provide poor women with economic opportunities and equal access to affordable housing, land, natural resources, credit and other services.

♦ Devise statistical means to recognize and make visible the work—including unpaid and domestic—of women and their contribution to national economies.

2. Education

♦ Closing the gender gap in primary and secondary school education by the year 2005.

♦ Eradicate illiteracy of women worldwide by 2000 or another target date to be agreed at the Conference.

♦ Improve women's access to and provide funding for vocational training, science and technology.

♦ Develop curricula, textbooks, and teaching aids free of gender stereotypes.

3. Health

♦ Strengthen and reorient health services in order to reduce maternal mortality by at least 50 per cent of the 1990 levels by the year 2000.

♦ Strengthen preventive programmes that address threats to women's health.

♦ Make efforts to combat HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases, and recognize the impact of those diseases on women.

♦ Promote research on and increase funding for women's health issues and services.

4. Violence

♦ Take integrated legal and social measures to prevent violence and protect women.

♦ Adopt measures to eliminate trafficking in women and eradicate violence against women who are vulnerable, such as those with disabilities and migrant workers.

♦ Study the causes of violence against women and effective measures of prevention.

5. Armed conflicts

♦ Increase and strengthen women's participation in conflict resolution.

♦ Promote women's contribution to fostering a culture of peace.

♦ Reduce the incidence of human rights abuses in conflict situations, protect refugee and displaced women, and provide assistance to women of the colonies.

6. Economic disparity

♦ Enact laws to guarantee the rights of women and men to equal pay for equal work, and adjust work patterns to promote the sharing of family responsibilities.

♦ Provide women with equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade, as well as to information and technology.

♦ Eliminate sexual harassment and other forms of discrimination in the workplace.

7. Power-sharing

♦ Ensure women's full and equal participation in power structures and decision-making.

♦ Develop education and training to increase women's capacity to participate in decision-making and leadership.

♦ Aim at gender balance in government bodies and the composition of delegations to the UN.

8. Institutions

♦ Ensure that responsibility for the advancement of women is invested at the highest level of Government.

♦ Integrate gender perspectives in all legislation, public policies, programmes and projects.

♦ Collect and disseminate statistics showing gender impact of policies and programmes.

9. Human rights

♦ Encourage ratification of international human rights treaties and promote their implementation.

♦ Provide gender-sensitive human rights training to public officials.

♦ Improve access to legal services and literacy through information campaigns and national training programmes.

10. Mass media

♦ Take steps to ensure women's access to information and the media on an equal basis.

♦ Encourage elimination of gender stereotyping in the media through studies, campaigns and various forms of self-regulation by media organizations.

11. Environment

♦ Involve women in environmental decision-making and integrate gender concerns in policies for sustainable development.

♦ Assess the impact of development and environmental policies on women.

12. Girl child

♦ Eliminate all forms of discrimination, as well as negative cultural attitudes and practices, against girls.

♦ Ensure that girls develop a positive self-image and have equal access to education and health care.

♦ Protect girls from economic exploitation and eliminate violence against them.

Adding a gender dimension to economic decision-making

Women hold a meagre 1 per cent of executive positions in the 1,000 largest corporations based outside the United States. The proportion is higher, at 8 per cent, in the 1,000 largest corporations in the United States, but only a handful of women hold the top-most positions, according to a recent study by the UN Secretariat Division for the Advancement of Women.

The same is true for the web of powerful global and regional multilateral institutions, where "women have been virtually excluded from key decision-making positions and from negotiating roles", as well as national trade policy, where the proportion of women is "insignificant", asserts Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali in a 1994 report *(A/49/349)*.

The result: the proportion of women in economic decision-making is not only "very low", states the report, but also "a gender dimension has been absent from macroeconomic policies and decisions regarding resource distribution, wealth creation and exchange".

The United Nations is no exception. As of 30 June 1994, the overall percentage of women in Secretariat posts subject to geographical distribution was just 32.6 per cent, while at the highest professional levels—D-1 and above—the percentage hovered at around 15 per cent, a full 10 per cent short of General Assembly targets.

"As we look back over time, it becomes clear that we have failed to live up to the promise of the Charter", Mr. Boutros-Ghali stated on 14 March, in a message to a conference on women and the UN, organized by the Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt Institute. "Recruitment and promotion of women in the United Nations have lagged dismally behind what they were supposed to be."

One way forward is to smash the apparent "glass ceiling" restricting women's upward mobility by attacking the gender bias embedded in employment training and promotion rules, administrative regulations and performance evaluation, all of which are formulated to provide advantages to men both as employers and employees, and are unfavourable to women and their needs, according to the Secretary-General's report.

The corporate world must become more "women-friendly", putting an end to the pervasive "male corporate culture" which propagates sexual harassment, denial of career development opportunities for women, and the under- or non-valuation of women's qualifications and skills.

Finally, it is critical that women become better represented in places where male privileges tend to become institutionalized—in the boardrooms, cabinets, trade union headquarters and the executive suites of transnational organizations.

"This will allow them to influence the direction of the huge resources controlled by large private entities and have a voice in shaping our world's values", concluded participants at the UN Expert Group Meeting on Women in Economic Decision-Making (New York, 7-11 November 1994).

"Ultimately, it is recognized that society is the loser if the talents of women are under-utilized as a result of discrimination", asserts the Secretary-General in another report *(E/CN.6/1995/3/Add 5)*. ■

Ending the statistics gap:

Measuring women's unpaid work

It is still before sunrise, about 6:30 a.m., when the researcher arrives at the family's doorstep. For the next hour, as unobtrusively as possible, she records what each household member is doing. Each separate activity is timed and all interactions within the household recorded: a mother fixing meals or helping a child get dressed, for instance.

The researcher is taking the first painstaking steps in the process of gathering gender statistics. The technique is an old one, a time-use study. The results will be new: when compiled, the data will capture many activities not formally recorded before.

Statistics, though sometimes mind-numbing, are the engines that drive the decision-making process. But some very important statistics, such as gross domestic product (GDP), tend to omit as much as they include. In sub-Saharan Africa, for example, women are estimated to be responsible for more than 80 per cent of food production for home consumption and over half of agricultural production. Official GDP figures for the region, however, generally count only the produce actually brought to market or export—the cash crops grown largely by men.

The statistical gap thus goes to the heart of the gender bias in economic and social policy decision-making. The challenge for statisticians is to develop and implement new concepts and methods of collecting data that will reflect reality and the situations of both women and men.

The ultimate goal: the heretofore invisible contributions of women will become accepted, evaluated and integrated into the world's economies.

Empowering women:

More education
Better health care, less poverty

The young girl, a fifth grader, says goodbye to her classmates. Her mother died recently and she now has to stay home to cook and bring lunch to her father in the field where he works. At home, her grandmother, very old and blind, chides her son for withdrawing his daughter from school. "I will cook", she says. "But how can you? You are blind", he says. "What I can see being blind, you cannot see with your eyes open", the old woman replies.

The message of this dramatized public service announcement, broadcast frequently on national television in Bangladesh, is clear. This country, like many other developing countries, is opening its eyes to the reality that with almost two thirds of its female population illiterate, national development is severely hampered.

Therefore, education, along with poverty, health care, the environment and other issues, is one of the critical areas of concern identified by the UN for discussion at the upcoming Fourth World Conference on Women.

Poor, overworked and illiterate—this is the profile of most adult, rural women in the majority of developing countries. Although more girls and women are entering school, and near universal literacy has been achieved for young people in many regions, huge gaps exist in women's education and literacy, especially among adults—the caretakers and providers for whom the ability to read and write can make a world of difference.

According to the *1993 World Education Report* of the UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), 905 million men and women—almost a quarter of the world's adult population—are illiterate. About 587 million, 65 per cent of them, are women.

According to Conference Secretary-General Gertrude Mongella, if women are to contribute effectively to national development into the twenty first century, "the fundamental question is whether they will be sufficiently equipped to participate fully by receiving a quality education that will prepare them to enter any field, expose them to science, technology and communications and stimulate their creativity".

Pivotal links

Another critical area of concern is the status of women's health and their access to health care, which have been identified as pivotal links between the health of a population and its prospects for sustainable development.

"Setting an agenda for women's health must begin with a recognition of the fact not only that the health situation of women is different from that of men, but also that the systems identifying and determining that health situation are fashioned according to gender-biased models", states a February report of UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali *(E/CN.6/1995/3/add.3)*.

"Gender discrimination has tended to be hidden within the general issue of poverty and underdevelopment", the report says. "Many women suffering from poor health status are found to lack knowledge, information, skills,

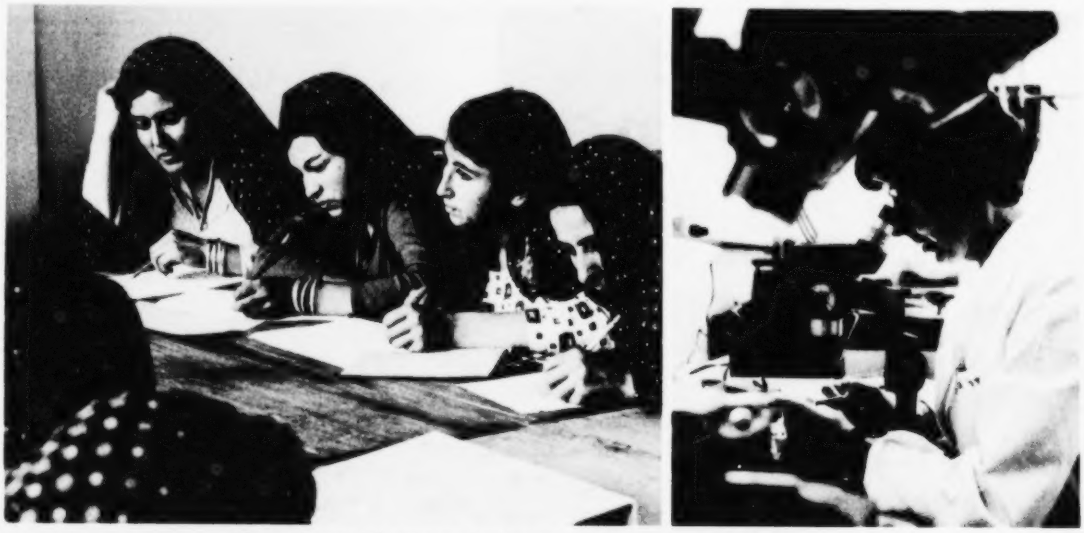
Literacy... One woman at a time

In Konkoran, a remote village in Mali near the edge of the Sahara Desert, life has stood still for centuries. The only thing that moved was the water in the Niger River, which lately has been carrying diseases, parasites and the risk of river blindness. Some 30 per cent of the children in Konkoran may die before the age of five, often due to waterborn diseases. Clean, safe water can save many lives. Several UN agencies have launched a literacy programme as part of a campaign about safe-drinking water.

Like most other Konkoran women, Fanta raised animals to feed her family and provide income. She was one of the first to join the literacy programme. In addition to basic skills, like reading and arithmetic, Fanta learned about oral rehydration, or "life water", as it is called here. She now treats children with diarrhoea, and has also learned better methods for raising goats and healthier ways to prepare milk. Village women who cannot read often came to her to write letters for them or to seek advice on practical matters. Literacy has given Fanta's life a whole new meaning and a new level of status in her village.

A world away in Bangkok, Thailand, lives Youphadee. Her family is among the 400 who live in the sprawling Rajataphan slum, where she makes her living by selling food in the street. After Youphadee joined a literacy programme sponsored by the Government and UNESCO, she learned basic accounting to help run her business.

Together with other women, Youphadee has also formed a credit union, which provides much-needed loans for family emergencies and investment in business. "Educate girls because they have a more difficult life", she says. "If I had to choose between sending a boy or a girl to school, I would send the girl."



Critical areas of concern are improved education and health.

purchasing power, income-earning capacity and access to essential health services."

Despite the fact that in households and often in communities women are the primary providers of health care, they often lack access to such care for themselves. Data cited by the report show that in many countries there are fewer women than men who are treated in hospitals, receive prescriptions for medication and timely treatment from qualified practitioners, and survive common diseases.

A disproportionate share

Among the important topics to be considered at the Fourth Conference in relation to women's health are reproductive health, fertility, ageing, malnutrition, mental health and sexually transmitted diseases, including AIDS.

Women also comprise a disproportionate share of the world's poor. Over the past 50 years, the number of rural women in developing countries living in absolute poverty has risen by about 50 per cent versus some 30 per cent for rural men. The feminization of poverty is a problem in industrialized countries as well. By the end of the 1980s, some 75 per cent of all poverty in the United States was to be found among women, particularly those who were single parents.

Uneven burden

What is clear, according to a recent report on the implementation of the 1985 Nairobi Forward-looking Strategies for the Advancement of Women *(E/CN.6/1995/3/Add.1)*, "is that female poverty is a persistent and unevenly distributed burden that threatens the sustainability of the development process and that is, in the long run, likely to translate into slower rates of economic growth".

The report says the poverty issue has been accorded particular weight among the critical areas of concern for the Conference due to a number of trends:

- The emphasis within the development debate has shifted from economic growth as the principle objective of society to human-centred sustainable development, concerns of the quality of life and hence to poverty alleviation as the main goal of the development process;
- A gender perspective on the relationship between women's advancement and poverty has focused attention on differences in the incidence, causes and dimensions of poverty as experienced by men and women;
- The process of poverty eradication has slowed down significantly since the mid-1980s and the number of people living in absolute poverty has increased; and
- If in the past poverty was considered a primarily rural phenomenon, the analysis has been broadened to take account of the growing impoverishment among the urban population.

These developments, "together with the growing perception of poverty as an increasingly female phenomenon" have made poverty a top priority among areas of critical concern for the advancement of women, states the report.

Environment

The Conference will also discuss action to incorporate into sustainable development strategies the close relationship of women with the environment. Women are among those who suffer most from environmental degradation and also among the most significant actors in the conservation and safeguarding of natural resources. ■

Violence against women

Ringing the alarm to awake the conscience of society

"He is a good husband; he only hits me once a week."

—Wife of a Nobel Prize Winner

Everywhere and in all ages, women have experienced violence. Often powerless to protect themselves, they have been raped, mutilated, battered and murdered. In most societies, gender-based violence has long been tolerated, letting the perpetrators go unpunished, their crime tacitly condoned.

A parliamentarian in a South Pacific country, taking part in a debate on wife battering, went as far as to say: "Wife beating is an accepted custom. We are wasting our time debating this issue."

Recent reports have begun to broadcast just how widespread and multifaceted the situation is.

◆ In Canada, a 1993 study found that 54 per cent of 420 randomly selected women had experienced some form of sexual abuse before the age of 16.

◆ In Bombay, India, where dowry-related "bride burning" is a known practice, 1 of every 5 deaths among women aged 15 to 44 was reported to be a case of "accidental burns".

◆ Genital mutilation is a traditional practice still conducted in parts of Africa and Asia. Globally, approximately 5 girls are genitally mutilated every minute.

◆ At a police station in São Paulo, Brazil, 70 per cent of all reported cases of violence against women took place in the home. In Santiago, Chile, three quarters of all assault injuries to women were caused by family members.

Yet, the seriousness and scope of the problem is often ignored. "If the leading newspapers were to announce tomorrow a new disease that, over the past year, had afflicted 3 to 4 million citizens, few would fail to appreciate the seriousness of the illness. Yet, when it comes to the 3 to 4 million women who are victimized by violence each year, the alarm bells ring softly", said Senator Joseph Biden of United States recently. In his country, one woman is physically abused every eight seconds and one is raped every six minutes.

Women have also been the victims of the ethnic, religious, communal and political conflicts which have marked the end of the cold war. According to a European Union fact-finding team, 20,000 women were raped in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the first months of the war in the former Yugoslavia.

Many women abused in wars are from the most marginalized and vulnerable sectors of society, such as indigenous, refugee or displaced women.

Yet, most women who are terrorized and assaulted during wars take no active part in the conflict. And the participation of women in decision-making for the resolution of these wars is lower than in any other area.

The Secretary-General has therefore concluded in a recent report *(E/CN.6/1995/3/Add.4)* that women must be given "more say in decisions related to war or peace; reconciliation or violence, which would allow them to contribute to preventing such tragedies rather than becoming their victims". ■

A sad way of life ...

American football is different from soccer, which is better known as football in most parts of the world. But when it comes to the emotions that they evoke, there is no difference between the two.

Troy Vincent is a cornerback for the Miami Dolphins football team. He is rich and famous now, but as a child he had to watch as his mother was abused. "To see my mother get beat was the way of life in my home. It was part of the community to beat your wife. When you would leave home and go to school, you would hear some guys say, 'I smacked my girlfriend three times last night'. Then one of his friends gave him a high five. That was a way of life, and it was not right."

Mr. Vincent admitted seeing his mother in the morning with a cast on her arm, but did not know how he could help her. "It is very disturbing to see a woman be a prisoner in her own home." Mr. Vincent was joined by several other famous athletes who took part in a panel discussion on domestic violence in Florida in October 1994. All of them had similar stories to tell.

Irving Fryer, another player, admitted that he had in the past abused his wife. "We are all products of our environment. Some of the things that happened in my home, I had to practice to get away from. And it just didn't happen overnight."

There is a simple conclusion to be drawn from all this: if violence against women is to be resisted, it must start where it begins, in the family.

UN50 San Francisco hosts celebrations

One of America's most beautiful cities—San Francisco, California—will provide a major setting in June for launching jubilant celebrations of the United Nations' fiftieth anniversary.

As the site of the signing of the UN Charter on 26 June 1945, the Bay City, in the words of its Mayor Frank M. Jordan, will embrace the occasion "as an opportunity to celebrate our city's role in the founding of the UN, as well as to provide a venue for discussion on the future role of the Organization".

On 25 June, UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, honorary Chairman for the San Francisco celebrations, is to open a forum of authors, scholars and policy leaders at the site of the Charter's signing—the Herbst Theatre in the Veterans War Memorial Building—to examine both UN strengths and weaknesses.

In addition, 50 years to the day the Charter was signed, representatives from every UN Member State are to gather at the War Memorial's Opera House to rededicate themselves to the principles enshrined in that document. The Secretary-General and United States President William Clinton will address that assembly.

Other events scheduled in San Francisco during a two-month-long observance from mid-April to end of June include: a major meeting of non-governmental organizations and UN agency heads; a World Summit of Children, organized by the Coalition of Children of the Earth; and a forum of Nobel Peace Prize laureates.

The city will also serve as host to special UN anniversary performances by the Moscow Chamber Orchestra, the San Francisco Opera and Ballet, the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra of London and the Royal Ballet and the Opéra de Lyons of France. A rock concert—"The UN Rocks the World"—is also planned.

San Francisco Convention & Visitors Bureau photo by Kerrick James

San Francisco, site of the signing.

Exhibits will include those on the 1945 San Francisco Charter Conference, including a bell made from melted down guns; a display of the International AIDS Memorial Quilt; and photographic exhibits documenting the work of the UN.

The UN Charter.

Charter exhibit

At a ceremony at Headquarters in New York on 1 February, Mr. Boutros-Ghali officially launched the UN's 50th anniversary by opening a year-long travelling exhibit of the original Charter, which is permanently housed at the United States National Archives in Washington, D. C.

United States Permanent Representative to the UN, Madeleine Albright, presented the document. New York City Mayor Rudolph Giuliani participated in the ceremony.

In his statement, Mr. Boutros-Ghali called the Charter "a document of historic dimension, and a priceless asset for humanity. Its very existence is a matter for celebration."

Among events planned during 1995 are: meetings in all regions of the world on the present and future of the UN; Young People's World Heritage Forum on 1 June in Beren, Norway; an Asia-Pacific Boy Scout Conference; peace concert in Hiroshima, Japan on 2 July; a Sir Georg Solti Concert for Peace on 5 July in Geneva, Switzerland; a "Global Teach-In" on 24 October in schools worldwide; and the New York City Marathon, with a "UN50" theme, on 12 November.

The anniversary will culminate in a summit-level special commemorative meeting of the General Assembly, to be held from 22 to 24 October at UN Headquarters. World leaders are expected to adopt a declaration to reaffirm the abiding principles of the UN Charter. ■

For more information on UN50 events, please contact: the UN 50th Anniversary Secretariat, United Nations, S-3161, New York, NY 10017. Phone: (212) 963-1995. Fax: (212) 963-4595

The UN Charter is signed

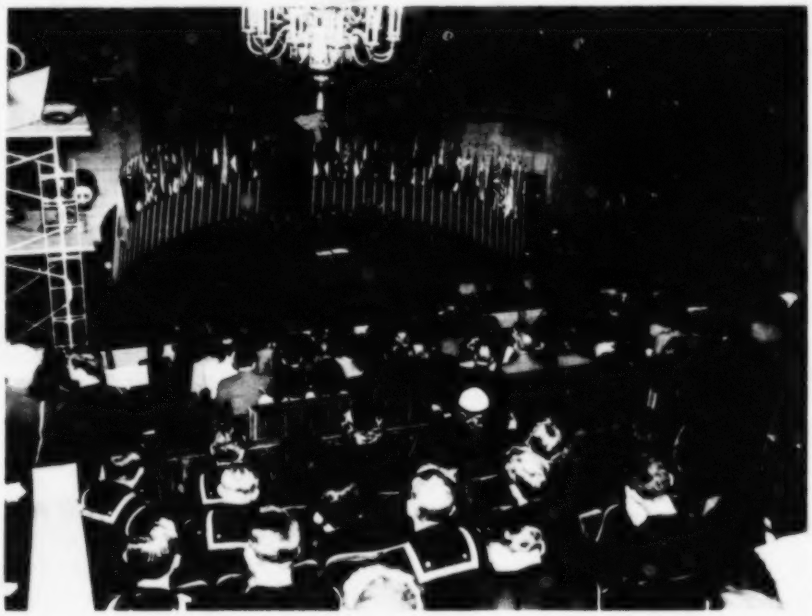
'One of the Great Moments of History'

by Harold Fruchtbaum

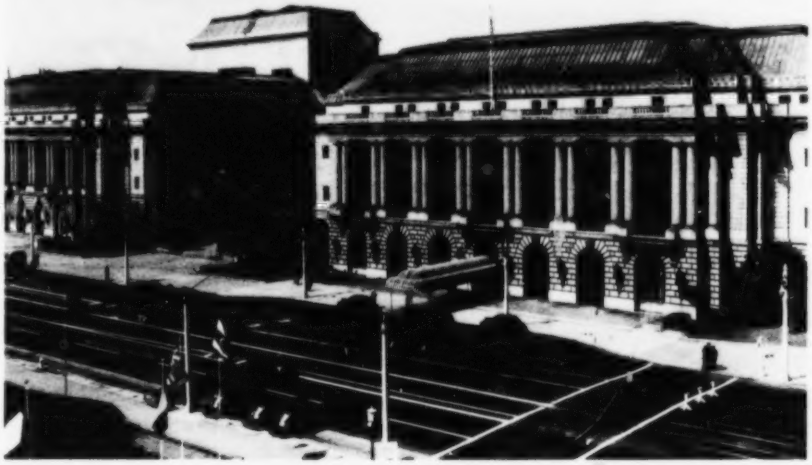
Minutes before 11 p.m. on Monday, 25 June 1945, Great Britain's Lord Halifax, presiding over the ninth and penultimate plenary session of the United Nations Conference on International Organization (UNCIO), stepped to the podium on the stage of San Francisco's Opera House, and called for the final vote on a historic document—the Charter of the United Nations. In the orchestra rows before him sat delegations from the 50 participating nations. Guests, conference staff, the press and the public filled the remaining seats and crowded the balconies. Lord Halifax asked delegation heads to rise in their places "to record their vote on an issue that I think is likely to be as important as any of us in our lifetime are ever likely to vote upon".

He requested those in favour of approving the Charter, including the Statute of the International Court of Justice, to stand. The vote was recorded. "Thank you", he said. "Are there any against?" No one rose. "The Charter and the other documents are unanimously approved."

A wave of emotion swept the delegates and the audience as they stood and applauded and cheered, shaking hands and embracing. Lord Halifax said: "I think, ladies and gentlemen, we may all feel that we have taken part, as we may hope, in one of the great moments of history."



Above, signing the UN Charter on 26 June 1945 in the Herbst Theater of the Veterans War Memorial Building. *Below*, the San Francisco Opera House *(left)* where plenary sessions were held. The Veterans War Memorial Building is at *right*.



The signing of the Charter the next morning and the final plenary session for the concluding addresses in the afternoon would end the nine-week effort in San Francisco.

As UNCIO convened at 4:33 p.m. on Wednesday, 25 April 1945, the Second World War was nearing its end. The war ended in Europe on 8 May, and in Asia on 2 September.

Participants in UNCIO knew that little time remained before the beginning of the postwar era, making imperative an agreement on an effective global system to foster peace and security, as well as economic and social development. Planning had begun in December 1939 as war swept across Europe and Asia. Peace, rapidly approaching, now demanded new decisions and commitments.

Invitations to UNCIO issued in Washington on 5 March 1945 by the United States, United Kingdom, USSR and China suggested that proposals crafted at Dumbarton Oaks be used in San Francisco "to prepare a charter for a general international organization for the maintenance of international peace and security".

Comments and amendments to the proposals were invited in advance. These filled nearly 700 pages of Conference documents with substantial amendments and additions, subtle word changes, extensive commentaries and drafts of a statute for the proposed International Court. Clearly, a formidable task was ahead.

A beautiful, secure setting

The geography and climate of San Francisco, as well as the security it offered in a country far from the zones of war, made that city an ideal site for the Conference. There, the human and physical resources needed for its day-to-day work could be marshalled in one of the world's most beautiful locales.

Headquarters for UNCIO were the Opera House and the Veterans War Memorial, built side by side in the 1920s across from San Francisco's domed City Hall to commemorate the soldiers of the First World War. The Veterans War Memorial Building provided the meeting rooms and the offices of the UNCIO secretariat and the world press. Plenary sessions took place in the Opera House auditorium. Thirteen hotels were commandeered to house delegations and their staffs, as well as secretariat staff and the media. More than 3,000 people had to be accommodated. Six railroad trains were provided to bring many of them across the North American continent.

The UNCIO secretariat included specialists on geography, maps, treaties and archives. An eight-member staff helped with reference and research in a library of 1,500 volumes. The secretariat provided: interpretation and translation; sound recording; document preparation, reproduction and distribution; space planning; and automobiles and buses to move delegates and staff between the Conference headquarters and hotels. The Daily Journal announced meetings, published summaries of proceedings and lists of issued documents, as well as schedules of new Hollywood films shown almost every evening without charge to those with UNCIO credentials.

Writing the Charter

In an opening address to the Conference, President Harry S. Truman of the United States, speaking by radio from Washington, emphasized the importance of the work facing the delegates. "The essence of our problem here", he said, "is to provide sensible machinery for the settlement of disputes among nations." In plenary sessions that followed, heads of delegations underscored that theme. General Carlos P. Romulo, Chairman of the Philippine Commonwealth delegation, said: "We are here to determine whether the human race is going to exist or whether it is to be wiped out in another world holocaust. . . . This may be our last opportunity to achieve peace. We are here to fight for our lives."

During the first week of UNCIO, the heads of delegations agreed to organize themselves into a steering committee to consider major policy and procedure matters. Four Commissions considered draft proposals from technical committees and recommend action by the Conference. The first Commission dealt with general aspects, including the Preamble, UN membership and the Secretariat. Commission II concentrated on the General Assembly, with technical committees working on economic and social cooperation and a system of trusteeship. The third wrestled with proposals for the Security Council. The fourth body considered legal problems and wrote the Statute of the International Court.

Day after day, delegates and their advisers worked on the Charter in sessions that often lasted long into the night. They transformed the Dumbarton Oaks' proposals into the constitution of a universal organization. The distinguished American poet Archibald Macleish, then serving as United States Assistant Secretary of State with the American delegation, assisted in writing the Preamble.

'A great day for history'

On Tuesday morning, 26 June, the Charter, printed in the five official languages of the Conference and bound like a book, was opened for signing in the Veterans Building auditorium. Each delegation, escorted to the circular table on the flag-lined stage, signed the texts. Spectators watched as the ceremony continued until shortly before the final plenary session began at 3:30 p.m. in the Opera House. South Africa's Prime Minister Jan Christian Smuts observed: "Our Charter is not a perfect document by any means. It is full of compromises over very difficult and tangled problems. But at least it is a good practical workmanlike plan for peace—a very real and substantial advance on all previous plans for security against war."

President Truman began his address by exclaiming, "Oh, what a great day this can be in history!" He said: "That we now have this Charter at all is a great wonder. It is also a cause for profound thanksgiving to Almighty God, who has brought us so far in our search for peace through world organization." ■

HUMAN RIGHTS

Anti-racism conference proposed during six-week session

Photo L. Bianco

High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso greets Commission Chairman Musa bin Hitam of Malaysia.

Six weeks of intense deliberations on the current state of human rights in the world took place at the fifty-first session (30 January-10 March, Geneva) of the UN Commission on Human Rights. In one notable move, the Commission asked the General Assembly to consider convening a world conference against "racism, racial and ethnic discrimination, xenophobia and other related contemporary forms of intolerance". The Special Rapporteur on contemporary forms of racism was also asked to make concrete recommendations at national, regional and international levels.

Human rights situations in the crises-torn former Yugoslavia and Rwanda prompted strongly-worded texts on the part of the Commission, which also instituted measures for the continued study of a broad range of specific human rights areas, encompassing indigenous people, women, children, development and others.

New special rapporteurs—on Burundi and on toxic waste dumping in Africa and other developing countries—were called for, as was an independent expert on Haiti. A number of new human rights mechanisms, including units and focal points within the UN Centre for Human Rights, were established.

In all, some 2,000 people participated in the Commission's session. A total of 93 resolutions and 15 decisions were adopted, including texts concerning more than a dozen countries.

Outgoing Commission Chairman Peter P. Van Wulfften Palthe of the Netherlands said that as long as human rights violations continued, the Commission's work had to continue. "The Commission is not for the benefit of delegates or their Governments, rather it is for the millions of victims of human rights violations the world over". The body's ultimate goal—the complete eradication of human rights violations—should never be forgotten.

A 'plethora of issues'

New Chairman Musa bin Hitam of Malaysia said the plethora of issues before the Commission required "conscientious and careful deliberations". Members should use their expertise and resources to enhance the body's work.

More than 900 statements were presented, including those by UN High Commissioner for Human Rights José Ayala Lasso on the deteriorating human rights situation in Burundi, and by the Special Rapporteur on Violence against Women, Radhika Coomaraswamy.

The Commission, in terminating its consideration of apartheid, congratulated the South African people on having laid the foundations for a new, non-racial, democratic country. A series of resolutions were adopted on human rights in the Middle East, including a call for Israel to withdraw from occupied territories.

Delegates also focused attention on follow-up to the 1993 World Conference on Human Rights. In his first annual report, High Commissioner Ayala Lasso said progress towards securing human rights for all people worldwide, in cooperation with Governments, national institutions and non-governmental organizations, would continue to be his principal objective.

Three official statements by the Commission Chairman were approved, which called for an immediate cease-fire in Chechnya, expressed concern over continued reports of human rights violations in East Timor, and commended the Government of Sri Lanka for protecting human rights, while condemning abuses in that country by the Liberation Tamil Tigers of Eelam.

The Commission decided to hold its 1996 session from 18 March to 26 April.

Intense deliberations

High on the session agenda was consideration of situations in many States and regions, including Afghanistan, Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, Burundi, Cambodia, Cuba, Equatorial Guinea, Haiti, Iran, Iraq, southern Lebanon and the western Bekaa, Myanmar, Rwanda, Sudan, Togo, Western Sahara, the former Yugoslavia and Zaire. Proposed action on China, Nigeria and the United States was not taken.

In reaffirming that regional arrangements "play a fundamental role in promoting and protecting human rights and should reinforce universal human rights standards", States in areas where such arrangements did not yet exist were invited to consider concluding agreements on establishing suitable machinery. UN efforts to strengthen cooperation with regional and national institutions were endorsed.

Regional workshops on human rights issues held in the Asian and Pacific regions were welcomed, as were the establishment of national human rights commissions by India and Indonesia, and preparatory steps by other Governments in those regions.

In that spirit, the Commission encouraged creation or strengthening of national human rights institutions, with high priority to be given to Member States' aid requests. A proposal to convene the third International Workshop of National Institutions for the Promotion and Protection of Human Rights at Manila from 18 to 21 April 1995 was welcomed.

A 44-operative paragraph resolution deplored the continued refusal by the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) and the "self-proclaimed" Bosnian Serb authorities to permit the Special Rapporteur to conduct investigations in territories under their control.

In extending the Rapporteur's mandate for another year, the Commission voiced its strong condemnation of specific violations identified by him, "most of which are committed in connection with the systematic policy of 'ethnic cleansing' and genocidal acts" in the areas controlled by the self-proclaimed Serb authorities. Among violations cited were mass killings, torture, rape and other sexual abuses committed against women and children.

Primary responsibility for most human rights violations in the Federal Republic was to be borne by the leadership in territory under Serb control and by political and military leaders there, the Commission stated.

It also reaffirmed that all persons who perpetrate or authorize violations of international humanitarian law were individually accountable and should be brought to justice. In that connection, the expanding activities of the International Tribunal were applauded.

> “The Commission's work benefits millions of human rights victims”

The Government was also urged to allow the expert member of the Working Group on Enforced and Involuntary Disappearances, who had submitted his first report on the special process on missing persons in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, to visit Belgrade and disclose all relevant information on missing persons.

The Commission condemned the genocide which had occurred in Rwanda, as well as rights violations and abuses during the conflict, and the kidnapping and killing of personnel of the UN and other humanitarian organizations.

The 53-member body condemned the incitement by Burundi's media to ethnic violence and invited Government authorities to cooperate in an inquiry into rights violations stemming from an attempted 21 October 1993 *coup d'état*. The Commission Chairman was asked to appoint a Special Rapporteur.

The Haitian Government was called upon to improve the administration of justice and the prison system, implement the recommendations of the Special Rapporteur and create "favorable conditions" for the reconstruction and development of Haiti. An independent expert was requested to assist in the area of human rights.

Alleged human rights violations in Iraq were condemned. The body expressed deep concern at reports of continued serious human rights violations in the Sudan and deplored a lack of cooperation with the Special Rapporteur.

The Commission urged all Afghan parties to intensify efforts to achieve a comprehensive political solution leading to the cessation of armed confrontation and the establishment of a democratic government elected through free and fair elections, based on the right to self-determination of the people of Afghanistan.

In closed meetings, the Commission examined the human rights situations in Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Chad, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Latvia, Republic of Moldova, Rwanda, Slovenia, Thailand and Uganda. It discontinued consideration of situations in Albania, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Moldova, Rwanda, Slovenia, Thailand and Uganda.

In a text on the Middle East peace process, the Commission emphasized that the achievement of a comprehensive and lasting peace in the region was vital for the full implementation of human rights there, and called on the Human Rights Centre to provide, on request, its programme of advisory services and technical assistance to the Palestinian Authority, the establishment of which was also welcomed. The Commission also urged Israel to abstain from putting any settlers or prevent any new installation of settlers in the occupied territories.

The end of apartheid

In concluding consideration of South Africa, the Commission terminated the mandate of the Special Rapporteur to monitor the transition to democracy in South Africa and suspended meetings of the "Group of Three"—representatives of Ecuador, Romania and the Philippines—which monitored implementation of the International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali was invited to "do his utmost" to establish a focal point for the Programme of Action for the Third Decade to Combat Racism and Racial Discrimination (1994-2004).

The Human Rights Commission asked for creation of a UN programme unit to promote economic, social and cultural rights, in particular those related to the debt burden of developing countries and implementation of the right to development, as well as a study of special problems faced by developing countries in efforts to achieve those rights.

Underscoring the right to development as universal and inalienable, the Commission asked for follow-up on the 1986 Declaration on the Right to Development. The Economic and Social Council should dedicate a high-level segment to evaluating implementation of the Declaration within the UN system, it said.

In a text on human rights and the environment, the Commission asked for follow-up to the 1992 Rio Declaration on Environment and Development and "Agenda 21". In asking for publication of the final report of the Special Rapporteur of the Subcommission on Prevention of Discrimination and Protection of Minorities, it stressed the importance of access, on favourable terms, to the transfer and development of environmentally sound technologies, especially to developing countries.

Support for the work of a Special Rapporteur on adequate housing was asked. The Commission also wanted a new Special Rapporteur on the relationship between the enjoyment of human rights, in particular, economic, social and cultural rights, and income distribution at national and international levels.

UN Photo/E. Schneider

UNION DE ASENTAMIENTOS DE GUATE
POR NUESTRO DERECHO A UNA VIVIENDA DIGNA

A human rights demonstration in Guatemala City.

Condemning gender-based violence

On 8 March—International Women's Day—the Commission condemned all acts of gender-based violence against women and emphasized the duty of Governments to prevent and punish such acts, take appropriate and effective action, and provide access to effective remedies and specialized assistance to victims.

Intensified efforts at the international level were also called for, in order to "integrate the equal status of women and the human rights of women into the mainstream of United Nations system-wide activity". In a decision on traditional practices affecting the health of women and children, it was recommended that the Special Rapporteur's mandate be extended for two years.

With women and children constituting some 80 per cent of most refugee populations, the Commission, in acting on mass exoduses, asked the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights to speed work on an interim report of the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, who recommended ways to improve the security and design of camps. The Special Rapporteur was also asked, in a separate resolution, to consider violence perpetuated against women migrant workers.

Clearly alarmed at the practices of selling children, child prostitution and child pornography, the Commission renewed the mandate of its Special Rapporteur in those areas for three years.

Worried over the continued enlistment of children in armed forces, it also asked for work on a possible optional protocol to the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child concerning the involvement of children in armed conflicts. Delegates also voiced concern at the killing of and violence against street children.

Work was to continue as well on a draft optional protocol to the 1989 Convention dealing with the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography. The Commission urged Governments to adopt measures to eradicate those practices, and the General Assembly, through the Economic and Social Council, to consider basic measures other than a possible protocol.

The lack of response from some Governments regarding enforced and involuntary disappearances was deplored. A special working group, acting as "a channel of communication between families of the disappeared persons and the Governments concerned", had requested the information and made recommendations in this regard. Special attention was asked for cases involving children.

An appeal was made to States to consider bilateral and multilateral arrangements to protect the rights of persons belonging to national or ethnic, religious and linguistic minorities in their countries. Creation of an inter-sessional working group to promote minority rights was requested.

Delegates agreed on a final programme of activities for 1995 in the framework of the International Decade of the World's Indigenous People (1994-2004). Elaboration of a draft declaration on the rights of indigenous peoples was asked. A workshop was suggested on establishing a permanent forum for indigenous peoples in the UN system.

Action was also taken on the protection of the heritage of indigenous people, as well as on treaties, agreements and other constructive arrangements between States and indigenous populations.

Speaking before the Commission, Rigoberta Menchu Tum—winner of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize and a member of the Quiche tribe of Guatemala—warned that indigenous peoples were in danger of extinction in certain countries. She echoed calls for a permanent mechanism for monitoring indigenous peoples' rights and asked that the resolution of conflicts involving them be promoted.

Declaring that the World Programme of Action concerning Disabled Persons to the Year 2000 and Beyond provided a "firm and innovative framework for disability-related issues", the Commission sought appropriate support for a long-term strategy for the Programme's implementation.

It also called on States to ensure that their laws, policies and practices respect the human rights standards of people living with human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) and acquired immune deficiency syndrome (AIDS), and to take steps to combat discrimination relating to HIV/AIDS.

Delegates are to consider at the 1996 session of the Commission establishing an open-ended working group on a third optional protocol to the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, aimed at guaranteeing the right to a fair trial.

An initial report from the Special Rapporteur on the independence of judges and lawyers was welcomed. The High Commissioner for Human Rights was asked to develop strategies to ensure effective coordination of technical cooperation in the field of juvenile justice.

The convening of an expert meeting to study non-derogable rights in states or situations of emergency was urged, as was creation of a database on states of emergency and related human rights questions. Also called for was a study on habeas corpus, to be carried out by the Minorities Subcommission.

> “Grave concern expressed over situations where internal violence cause extensive suffering”

An appeal was again issued to Member States to respect the rights and ensure the protection of UN staff members and other personnel acting under the authority of the UN who were under detention, and of their families.

Negotiations continued on a draft optional protocol to the 1984 Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. In extending the mandate of the Special Rapporteur on torture for three years, the Commission asked for recommendations concerning prevention of gender-specific forms of torture and the torture of children.

Other action

In other action, the Commission:

- Stating its grave concern over the large number of situations where internal violence caused extensive suffering and breaches of the principles of humanity, invited States to review their national legislation relevant to situations of public emergency.
- Decided not to proceed with a proposal for a study on the implications for human rights of UN action, including humanitarian assistance.
- In reiterating an "unequivocal condemnation" of terrorism, exhorted States to take all measures to prevent terrorist acts. The increasing number of innocent persons, including women, children and the elderly, who were killed, massacred and maimed by terrorists in indiscriminate and random acts of violence and terror, "cannot be justified under any circumstances", it stated.
- Urged States to prevent mercenaries from using their territories to destabilize a sovereign State, and requested extension for three years of the mandate of its Special Rapporteur.
- Asked for formulation of a draft declaration on the right and responsibility of individuals, groups and organs of society to promote and protect universally recognized human rights and fundamental freedoms.
- In a text on "bioethics", invited Governments and international bodies to report on activities to "ensure that the life sciences develop in a manner respectful of human rights and beneficial to humanity as a whole".

Delegates also called for rejection of the use against developing countries of unilateral coercive measures that were in clear contradiction of international law, "with the purpose of exerting, directly or indirectly, coercion on the sovereign decisions of the countries" subject to those measures. A report on such measures was requested. (That text was adopted by a roll call vote of 24 to 17, with 12 abstentions. Some dissenters objected because it dealt with commercial relations between States and not with human rights.) ■

Commitments for the 21st century . . .

Unprecedented gathering adopts Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action

A global blueprint for action, with specific commitments for the creation of more just and humane societies, was adopted by the World Summit for Social Development in the early hours of 13 March, as participants concluded seven days of meetings in Copenhagen, Denmark.

The Summit, which began on 6 March, culminated in one of the largest gatherings of world leaders ever held—a total of 117—and was the first meeting of its kind at the highest governmental level to squarely confront the major social challenges and underlying causes of poverty, unemployment and social exclusion—the core issues of the conference.

The Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action, adopted in the closing moments of the Summit, recommend measures to be taken at the UN, national and international levels, aimed at eliminating inequalities within and among countries and at fostering social development.

"The international community is today taking a clear stand against social injustice, exclusion and poverty in the world", said Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 6 March, at the opening of the Summit. "A new social contract, at the global level, is required to bring hope to States and to nations, and to men and women around the world."

Inaugurating two days of high-level meetings of Heads of State and Government, Mr. Boutros-Ghali declared on

UN Photo 187093/M. Gran

WORLD SUMMIT
FOR SOCIAL
DEVELOPMENT

President François Mitterrand of France was among the 117 world leaders who addressed the Summit.

11 March: "Now is the time to act because the potential for cooperation has never been greater." The spirit of the Summit's agenda must reflect a sense of solidarity, he said, which "cannot permit those who are privileged to ignore those who are poor, vulnerable or marginalized".

A total of 187 States participated, along with some 2,000 non-governmental organizations. The event was covered by more than 2,500 media representatives from around the world.

Breakthrough language

The Copenhagen Declaration and Programme of Action contain what has been described as breakthrough language related to, among other things, the need for structural adjustment programmes to be socially responsible. Also, for the first time, a major UN conference adopted "commitments", as opposed to "principles" or "objectives".

The final document is the first inter-governmentally negotiated text which urges mobilization of new and additional financial resources for official development assistance (ODA).

Furthermore, the Summit is the first UN conference to agree on ways to mobilize resources through the "20/20 Initiative", which is based on the idea of allocating 20 per cent of ODA and 20 per cent of national budgets to priority basic social programmes.

The documents call for the General Assembly to declare a UN Decade for the Eradication of Poverty (an International Year for the Eradication of Poverty will be observed in 1996) and recommend that the Economic and Social Council consider holding joint meetings with the Development Committee of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Programme of Action

The five-chapter Programme of Action recommends actions aimed at achieving social development, eradicating poverty, fostering social integration and reducing unemployment.

The introduction stresses that all recommended actions are linked, either in the requirements for their design, including the participation of all concerned, or in their consequences for the various facets of the human condition.

"The special importance of this Programme of Action lies in its integrated approach, its attempt to combine many different actions for poverty eradication, employment creation and social integration in coherent national and international strategies for social development", the document states.

The Programme of Action recommends, among other actions:

- Creating an enabling environment for social development through coordination of macroeconomic policies to promote stable and sustained economic growth and sustainable development through a higher degree of stability in financial markets, reducing the risk of financial crisis, improving the stability of exchange rates, and striving for low interest rates in the long run;
- Eradicating absolute poverty and reducing substantially overall poverty by, among other actions, formulating or strengthening, preferably by 1996, national eradication plans to address the structural causes of poverty and include affordable time-bound goals and targets;
- Expanding productive employment and reducing unemployment by facilitating access to productive employment and developing better quality jobs; enhancing the quality of work and employment by promoting workers rights; and ensuring that employment opportunities are equitable and non-discriminatory, as well as efficient and effective in meeting the needs of particular groups, such as older workers and single parents; and
- Enhancing social integration by promoting human rights, non-discrimination, equality, social justice, tolerance and respect for diversity. Governments should recognize and promote the needs and abilities of vulnerable and disadvantaged groups, as well as refugees, displaced persons, asylum seekers and migrants. Effective strategies should be adopted to combat violence, crime, and drug abuse.

Implementation of the Programme of Action is primarily the responsibility of Governments, but international cooperation and assistance are also essential, states the final chapter: "Nothing short of a renewed and massive political will at the national and international levels to invest in people and their well-being will achieve the objectives of social development."

Follow-up to the Summit was the priority subject before the Commission for Social Development at its thirty-fourth session (10-20 April, New York). The Programme of Action suggests that the Commission's mandate, agenda and composition be reviewed by the Economic and Social Council, which is to oversee UN system-wide coordination in the implementation of the Summit outcome. ■

UN Photo 187094/J. Schytte

The Bella Centre in Copenhagen was the meeting site.

A New Social Contract . . .

Following are excerpts from the Copenhagen Declaration, adopted by 187 countries at the World Summit for Social Development.

"For the first time in history, at the invitation of the United Nations, we gather as Heads of State and Government to recognize the significance of social development and human well-being for all and to give to these goals the highest priority both now and into the twenty-first century.

"We acknowledge that the people of the world have shown in different ways an urgent need to address profound social problems, especially poverty, unemployment and social exclusion, that affect every country. It is our task to address both their underlying and structural causes and their distressing consequences in order to reduce uncertainty and insecurity in the life of people.

"We acknowledge that our societies must respond more effectively to the material and spiritual needs of individuals, their families and the communities in which they live throughout our diverse countries and regions. We must do as a matter of urgency, but also as a matter of sustained and unshakeable commitment through the years ahead. . . .

"We share the conviction that social development and social justice are indispensable for the achievement and maintenance of peace and security within and among our nations. In turn, social development and social justice cannot be attained in the absence of peace and security or in the absence of respect for all human rights and fundamental freedoms. This essential interdependence was recognized 50 years ago in the Charter of the United Nations and has grown ever stronger.

"We are deeply convinced that economic development, social development and environmental protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development, which is the framework for our efforts to achieve a higher quality of life for all people. Equitable social development that recognizes empowering of the poor to utilize environmental resources sustainably is a necessary foundation for sustainable development. We also recognize that broad-based and sustained economic growth in the context of sustainable development is necessary to sustain social development and social justice. . . .

"We acknowledge that social and economic development cannot be secured in a sustainable way without the full participation of women and that equality and equity between women and men is a priority for the international community and as such must be at the centre of economic and social development.

"We acknowledge that people are at the centre of our concerns for sustainable development and that they are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with the environment.

"We gather here to commit ourselves, our Governments and our nations to enhancing social development throughout the world so that all men and women, especially those living in poverty, may exercise the rights, utilize the resources and share the responsibilities that enable them to lead satisfying lives and to contribute to the well-being of their families, their communities and humankind. To support and promote these efforts must be the overriding goals of the international community, especially with respect to those suffering from poverty, unemployment and social exclusion.

"We make this solemn commitment on the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the United Nations and with a determination to capture the unique possibilities offered by the end of the cold war to promote social development and social justice. . . .

"We gather here in Copenhagen in a Summit of hope, commitment and action. We gather with full awareness of the difficulty of the tasks that lie ahead but with a conviction that major progress can be achieved, must be achieved and will be achieved."

THE COMMITMENTS

The Declaration contains 10 specific commitments to serve as the base for launching a global drive for social progress and development into the twenty-first century:

1. Concerns the creation of an economic, political, social, cultural and legal environment that will enable people to achieve social development;
2. Addresses the goal of eradicating poverty in the world as an ethical, social, political and economic imperative of humankind;
3. Urges the promotion of the goal of full employment as a basic priority of economic and social policies;
4. Calls for the promotion of social integration by fostering societies that are stable, safe and just, and based on the protection of all human rights, and on non-discrimination, tolerance, respect for diversity and solidarity;
5. Deals with the promotion of full respect for human dignity and achievement of equality and equity between women and men;
6. Addresses the promotion and attainment of the goals of universal and equitable access to quality education and health care;
7. Calls for acceleration of the economic, social and human resource development of Africa and the least developed countries;
8. States that structural adjustment programmes should include social development goals;
9. Calls for a significant increase in and/or more efficient utilization of the resources allocated to social development; and
10. Urges an improved and strengthened framework for international, regional and subregional cooperation for social development.

Social integration:

A major challenge for host countries

Refugees and displaced persons were among the most tragic victims of social disintegration, and closing borders was not going to make the problem go away, High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata told the World Summit for Social Development in Copenhagen on 10 March.

UN Photo 159238/J. Isaac

Standing in long lines is the lot of many refugees. *Above*, Croatian Muslims.

And, she said, ranks of the world's 23 million refugees would continue to swell unless Governments tackled the root causes of displacement, supported aid programmes in host countries, and promoted the social integration of those returning to their homelands.

She said: "Social stability is not threatened by refugees, but by human rights violations and gross social inequities which uproot people. This reinforces the need to address the underlying causes, so that people will no longer be forced to flee." Citing strife-torn nations such as Rwanda, Burundi, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Somalia and Afghanistan, Mrs. Ogata warned that the threat of new refugee flows "remains very much alive".

Over the past five years, the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) had helped nearly 9 million refugees go back home to such places as Afghanistan, El Salvador, Iraq, Ethiopia, Cambodia and Mozambique. But the ultimate success of those repatriation programmes, Mrs. Ogata said, would depend on the social integration of the returnees, "a major challenge" for all the war-torn countries to which refugees were returning.

To promote social integration at the grass-roots level, UNHCR had a worldwide programme of "quick-impact micro-projects", which addressed the needs not only of returning refugees but also of the internally displaced and the local community. These ranged from building schools and clinics and drilling wells to constructing access roads so people can get their produce to market.

"A multi-dimensional concept of peace must include not only freedom from war, but also from want", Mrs. Ogata stated. "Without that, people may come home, but for how long? And at what cost to the peace process itself?"

In addition to helping countries of origin, she said, the international community must also support host countries, citing the examples of the United Republic of Tanzania and Zaire, which had to absorb some 2 million people fleeing Rwanda. Unless host communities were supported, their own development, as well as their ability to continue to receive refugees, was likely to be jeopardized, she added.

In addressing the Commission on Human Rights on 7 February in Geneva, Mrs. Ogata said UNHCR had seen intensified human rights field operations in several areas, including the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Burundi and Guatemala. International tribunals had been set up to prosecute the perpetrators of grave human rights violations.

The human rights regime must be translated into a visible and effective field presence, and documenting horrendous crimes must be backed up by effective redress to establish proper accountability and remove the myth of impunity, she said.

UNHCR field officers were expected not only to observe and report human rights violations, but to act upon the information by seeking remedial action from the concerned authorities.

In Tajikistan, field officers monitored the well-being of returnees and were in close contact with local attorneys to ensure that returnees enjoyed the full protection of the law. In the former Yugoslavia, UNHCR staff regularly visited areas where identifiable minorities might be at risk and protested acts of "ethnic cleansing", both at local and central levels of authority. Where those attempts to prevent expulsion failed, as was regrettably too often the case, victims were assisted in their efforts to seek safety elsewhere.

In particular, the situation in Rwanda had brought into sharp focus almost all facets of the complex interaction between human rights and humanitarian efforts, and had shown the vital importance of effective human rights monitoring in post-conflict situations as an integral part of collective efforts to enable uprooted populations to return home in safety and dignity. ■

Development Cooperation in Peril

Building new capacities, Preventing crises

by James Gustave Speth
Administrator, UN Development Programme

I would like to make the case for international cooperation for development—in the poorer countries and for the countries in transition. I do not mean more of the same "foreign aid" of the past. Rather, my points will be that we need a new and more comprehensive framework for development cooperation and that within this new framework we need more official development assistance (ODA), not less, whatever the current mood might be. And the mood is certainly not positive now.

Mr. Speth

I would like to take on this subject by confronting two myths, both widely held. The first is that the developing world is doing pretty well, and that things are basically on track. The second myth is related: that to the extent some countries are not in good shape, and some obviously are not, "it's their own fault". These countries should get their policies straight—including opening up to the remarkable world market—and enjoy the ride, the argument goes.

Indeed, it is true that there have been remarkable successes in human development. Average life expectancy in the developing world has increased by over one third in the last 30 years. More than 70 per cent of the population in developing countries now has some access to health services. Primary school enrolment has increased to over 80 per cent.

The economic performance of some countries has been remarkable as well. The World Bank has proclaimed the "East Asian miracle", and indeed it may be that. The eight high-performing East Asian economies registered average per capita income growth of about 5.5 per cent per year between 1965 and 1990.

But the world is still a big place—complicated, unfair and diverse. Desperation and devastation are still the lot of most people. Some 1.5 billion people live in poverty in UNDP's 173 programme countries. The conditions of life for twice that number are deplorable, with 13-18 million people—mostly children—dying from hunger and poverty-related causes each year. Tomorrow, as on any given day, about 67,000 babies will be born into families earning less than $7 a week. That's almost 25 million people born into a prison of absolute poverty each year. It's hard to imagine, but over a billion people live in households too poor to obtain the food necessary for normal work.

Worst off are the 47 countries we call least developed. With 10 per cent of the world's people, they have 0.1 per cent of the world's income. For over two decades, their per capita income, on average, has declined. Today it stands at about $350.

These facts, and others, should shock us. We cannot allow ourselves to become numbed by them, particularly when the world economy is expanding as rapidly as it is. While that expansion might be positive news for some, what is disturbing is that the world has experienced a vast increase in inequity at the same time. Over the last three decades, the gap between the richest and poorest 20 per cent of the world's people has doubled.

I would submit that the defining concern of international affairs in the decades ahead will be the struggle for equity: equity within nations, equity among nations, equity for future generations, equity between women and men.

Without sustained progress to a more equitable world, growing poverty and joblessness, population pressures, the decline of environmental resources, and the widening gap between the haves and have-nots will breed despair and instability. They have already begun to do so, and they imperil our world.

So, much of the developing world is not doing well and is not making it. As we approach the turn of the century, the social, economic, environmental and political crises that many developing countries confront—and which indeed affect us all—have taken on an urgency and a magnitude unparalleled in history. Instability and conflict are spreading like a metastasized cancer. The list of countries in crisis, or near crisis, is growing. No one would attribute today's problems solely to underdevelopment, but it is surely part of the disease, and development—sustainable human development—must always be part of the cure.

But isn't trade, not aid, the answer? Can't private investment replace development assistance? Won't sufficient privatization and commitment to structural adjustment do the trick? Of course, each is important, indeed, essential. There is no denying it. But while necessary, these measures are not a panacea for the developing world. They are not sufficient for two reasons.

First, they are not benefitting many, and in some cases, most countries. Consider these points:

- 75 per cent of the direct foreign investment in the developing world goes to only a dozen countries—20 per cent to China alone. Just 6 per cent goes to Africa; and 2 per cent to the least developed countries. There is no correlation between need and direct foreign investment.
- The recent GATT agreements are expected to benefit much of the developing world to only a limited degree and Africa not at all.
- Meanwhile, the debt burden facing the developing world continues to mount, now reaching $1.9 trillion.

Then, there is the misconception that getting the macro-economic framework right is all that's needed. This thinking stems from the fact that some countries are growing, and some quite rapidly, partly as a result of adjustment, liberalization, openness and privatization. But in at least some of these growing economies, poverty, unemployment and inequality are also growing, because there are no policies in place to ensure that growth benefits the poor. By placing too much emphasis on macro-economic policy alone, we have promoted lopsided, unbalanced growth.

These, and many other challenges I have not mentioned, will not and cannot be met without continued international cooperation for development and without new and additional resources for development assistance. But the past is a poor model for how we should tackle these problems in the future. A new framework for international development cooperation is needed, and ODA must be reformed.

A new framework is needed in order to broaden development cooperation—to look beyond ODA and to include trade, debt management, private investment and capital flows, access to technology, and the arms race and military expenditures.

A new framework is also needed to help redefine the relationship between industrial and developing countries. Common interests and mutual needs ought to provide the basic rationale for a new partnership through which existing imbalances and inequities must be addressed.

What is also clear is that problems do not need passports to travel around the globe—and whether we like it or not, a problem in one part of the world truly affects us all. International compacts and partnerships must therefore be forged to realize common goals, whether we are focusing on controlling the continuing devastation of the world's forests or eliminating the worst aspects of world poverty. Such compacts must be based on the realization that it is far better—more effective, more humane, and cheaper—to act preventively to attack root causes than to cope with the tragic consequences of neglect. We know that development is the most logical pathway to peace and stability, and that peace is buttressed by sound development.

A new development cooperation framework is needed to consolidate the emerging concept of sustainable people-centred development, or sustainable human development as we call it at UNDP. Development thinking has evolved from a one-dimensional concept with a near-exclusive focus on aggregate economic performance, to a richer multi-dimensional concept with people at its centre. People must reap the benefits of development. For most people and most countries, economic growth is the *sine qua non* of development. But to what end? New development cooperation should seek not only to generate growth, but to distribute its benefits equitably; it should empower people politically and economically, not marginalize them. It should provide job-led growth, not job-less growth. It should replenish our national heritage, not destroy it. It should advance women, not keep them in their place. These, I would submit emphatically, have not been the predominant goals of development policy in the past, or even of development assistance, and that is precisely why the world today is in so much trouble.

> “Is trade, not aid the answer? Can private investment replace development assistance?”

There are other aspects of this new framework of development cooperation that should be stressed:

- it should seek new and innovative sources of finance, such as small levies on global flows of money, energy emissions, air travel; in the short term, it should recognize the imperative of debt relief as an alternative to increased ODA, which is now out of favour with some.
- it should recognize that for development cooperation to succeed, it must be driven by national priorities and national ownership by the country and its people. The need for development cooperation to be carried out in a way that actually builds national capacities in government, civil society, within indigenous groups and in private sector is of fundamental importance.

ODA is an essential part of the cost-share needed for global compacts addressing priority global objectives. It is an essential financial resource in capital-starved countries. And it is required to build the capacities needed to carry out adjustment programmes and to mitigate their often harsh effects. It is essential as well to build the capacities of poorer countries to take advantage of international investment and trade opportunities. It is essential to prevent crises and to cope with and then recover from them.

From an address to the Council on Foreign Relations
New York, 22 March 1995

The new challenge:

Translating Cairo success into meaningful activities

The newly-named Commission on Population and Development, at its 1995 session (New York, 21 February-2 March), stated it should have the primary responsibility for reviewing the follow-up and implementation of the Programme of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development, held in Cairo in September 1994.

"The Programme of Action adopted in Cairo clearly recognized the need to empower women both as an important end in itself and as a key to improving families, communities and countries", Dr. Nafis Sadik, Executive Director of the UN Population Fund (UNFPA), told the 26-member body. It also broke new ground with regard to reproductive rights, moving away from a narrow focus on family planning and fertility in favour of a comprehensive approach to reproductive health. "With success comes challenge", she continued. And the current challenge was to translate the Programme of Action into meaningful activities, she went on.

A new name

The Commission—a subsidiary body of the Economic and Social Council—also decided that the Inter-Agency Task Force for the implementation of the Programme of Action, set up by the Secretary-General, be established on a permanent basis and be accountable through the Commission for system-wide coordination.

To emphasize the Programme's new and comprehensive approach to population and development, the Population Commission was renamed the Commission on Population and Development by the General Assembly. The Commission, to meet annually beginning in 1996, will review population trends and policies, and follow up recommendations of the Population Conference.

Dramatic changes on the horizon

Underlining the many complex and politically controversial issues to be faced by the Commission in the coming years, Joseph Chamie, Director of the Population Division of the Department for Economic and Social Information and Policy Analysis, said there had been dramatic population changes in recent decades, including unprecedented growth rates, increasing urbanization, rapid changes in fertility levels and the use of contraceptives, and improvements in mortality, as well the rise of HIV/AIDS.

In debate, some countries reviewed their national experiences in population matters, stressing how the Programme of Action would influence their policies. The need for increased resources for national population-related activities was also emphasized.

An uneven picture of population trends emerged from some Commission discussions. While China's representative described a near-crisis situation marked by a net increase in population of 14 million per year in her country, the representative of the Russian Federation expressed concern over the decrease in Russia's population, which had gone down by half a million over the past year.

86 million more last year

At mid-1994, world population stood at 5.63 billion persons, a report on world population trends and policies revealed *(E/CN.9/1995/2)*. During the preceding 12 months, population had grown by 86 million and was expected to grow by an additional 87 million during the next 12 months. Currently, 4.47 billion persons—79 per cent of the world population—lived in less developed regions. The total population size in the more developed regions was 1.16 billion.

Between 1990 and 1994, world population had grown at 1.57 per cent per annum, significantly below the 1.73 per cent per annum at which population had been growing for the past decade and a half. The current growth rate was the lowest recorded since the Second World War and marked the resumption of the trends of declining growth rates that had prevailed from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, the report stated.

UN medium-fertility-variant projections indicated that the population growth rate would continue declining, to 1.33 per cent per annum between 2000 and 2010; 1.15 per cent in 2010-2020; 0.95 per cent in 2020-2030; 0.72 per cent in 2030-2040; and 0.54 per cent in 2040-2050. Consequently, the world population was projected to reach 7.5 billion by 2015 and 9.8 billion by 2050.

More aid given

The UN system had continued to strengthen the substantive content of its programmes and increase the volume of financial assistance to developing countries, according to a report on monitoring of multilateral population assistance *(E/CN.9/1995/3)*. Assistance for population programmes had increased from $220 million in 1988 to $305 million in 1992, the bulk of which came from UNFPA.

Family planning, integrated with reproductive health and carried out through a primary health-care system, continued to receive the bulk of multilateral resources, the report added. There had been a decrease in allocations for basic data collection and analysis and population-dynamics research in the past two years.

Women's concerns were increasingly being mainstreamed into substantive areas of population assistance, especially in reproductive health and family planning, basic data collection, population dynamics and the formulation and implementation of policies.

At the same time, projects to improve the status of women, such as education for girls, leadership training, literacy programmes, and projects designed to increase the income of women and their families were being supported by multilateral agencies.

The effort to broaden the scope of the UNFPA programme to encompass a more comprehensive reproductive health-care approach was a notable feature of the Fund's work in 1993 and 1994, it was reported on 20 January *(E/CN. 9/1995/4)*. That had been accompanied by efforts to satisfy unmet needs and to contribute to the empowerment of women. UNFPA had also sought to strengthen and refine its programme process, focusing on strategic programming and its requisite policy and technical assistance.

An update on global contraceptive requirements from 1994 to 2005 estimated that some 55.7 billion condoms would be needed for contraception, and an additional 14.6 billion for the prevention of AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases. The total cost of contraceptive commodities for the 12-year period was estimated to be $7.7 billion.

Population Award shared

The 1995 UN Population Award will be shared by Dr. Halfdan Mahler, Secretary-General of the International Planned Parenthood Federation, and the Inter-African Committee on Traditional Practices Affecting the Health of Women and Children.

Dr. Mahler has served as Secretary-General of the Federation since 1989 and was Director-General of the World Health Organization from 1973 to 1988. He was nominated for his distinguished career in public health, including his strong leadership in the areas of reproductive health, family planning and worldwide population issues.

The Inter-African Committee is a regional non-governmental organization founded in 1984 to fight traditional practices harmful to the health of women and children, especially female genital mutilation. ■

The world's largest city

Tokyo is currently the world's largest urban agglomeration, with 26.5 million residents in 1994, more than one-and-a-half times as large as New York—the second largest—which has 16.3 million.

Other large urban agglomerations are: Sao Paolo (16.1 million); Mexico City (15.5 million); Shanghai (14.7 million); Bombay (14.4 million); Los Angeles (12.2 million); and Beijing (12.0 million).

UN statistics also reveal that 45 per cent of the world's population are urban dwellers. By 2025, more than three fifths of the world's population should be urban.

The urban growth rate in the less developed regions reached 3.5 per cent per annum during 1990-1995, compared with only 0.8 per cent in more developed regions. One third of Africans and Asians live in urban areas, in contrast to 7 of 10 people in Europe, North America, Latin America and Oceania.

A Camera's-Eye View:

Our 'Material World'

by Elsa B. Endrst

Award-winning American photojournalist Peter Menzel sees his book, "*Material World: A Global Family Portrait*", as a rich, visual tapestry, documenting the close of the twentieth century. In an up-close and revealing way, the photographic essay focuses on portraits of average families from some 30 nations, shown outside their homes, surrounded by their material possessions. The text and pictures together provide a view not only of what they own, but also of their lifestyles, economies, cultures and values.

Yale University Professor Paul Kennedy calls Mr. Menzel's project "a bold and imaginative experiment, an attempt to capture, through photos and statistics, both the common humanity of peoples inhabiting our earth and the great differences in material goods and circumstances that make rich and poor societies".

The book, published in 1994, was assembled with UN help as a contribution to the International Year of the Family. Many of the photographs were exhibited at UN Headquarters last year as part of the preparatory process leading to the World Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II), to be held in Istanbul, Turkey in June 1996.

Mr. Menzel got the idea for the name of his book from the words of American rock star Madonna's song, "Material Girl". With information from the UN, the World Bank and an independent research company, he created profiles of "statistically average" families that he chose for his subjects for the project.

He began by photographing families in Japan, South Africa and Mali. Then he assembled a team of expert

Peter Menzel/Leong Ka Tai

The Regzen family of Mongolia.

Peter Ginter/Peter Menzel

The Skeen family of Texas, United States.

photojournalists from seven countries, travelling the world and shooting 2,000 rolls of film and more than 100 hours of video tape. He selected the countries from a list of UN Member States; only one declined to participate in the project.

One family Mr. Menzel found especially interesting was the Regzens from Mongolia, a traditionally nomadic society, which now has more than 60 per cent of its citizens living in urban areas.

Used to living in their "gers"—portable tents used over the centuries so the nomadic herdsmen could follow their animals to new grazing grounds—the urban dwellers of Mongolia, Mr. Menzel says, now live on little plots of land, still using these tents as their dwelling. "When they get enough money", he says, "they will probably build a permanent house, modest, more like a shack, but somewhat more comfortable than what they had before."

Teasets in the tent

The Regzen family includes father, mother, two children, the father's sister and her daughter, as well as the wife's sister and her husband. Most of the family is shown in front of their tent, surrounded by their possessions, including a china cabinet with stickers of Disney cartoon characters "Chip" and "Dale", two family portraits, two ceramic horses, a ceramic and a bronze Buddha, two teasets, a dresser with a vanity mirror, topped by an alarm clock, a twin bed with a woven coverlet, and a dining room table.

Inside the ger, one can see a variety of food, a teapot, more figurines, soft drinks, a hotplate and enamelled plates hanging from the wall. A fluorescent light fixture is suspended from the peak of the ger. A sheep grazes nearby.

Regzen Batsuury, a truck driver and free-lance construction worker, and his wife, Lkhamsuren Oyuntsetseg, who works full-time in the pharmacy of the local hospital, live in Ulan Bator. Mr. Menzel says they describe themselves as "comfortable" but not completely satisfied with their way of life. They want their children to have a better life through education and property. They value the old ways and cherish family heirlooms, but are still anxious to reap the benefits of the 20th century.

Almost every family he visited had electricity, owned a television set and spent a lot of time watching it.

"The problem with TV", he says, "is that it raises false expectations. People in a lot of poor countries look at Western television shows and get the wrong idea about what life is really like. They think that everyone else is rich and expect things to come out of the sky."

> "Capturing the common humanity of peoples inhabiting our earth"

Besides the book's "Big Picture" section—the shots of families with all their possessions—the other sections are: "Meals of the World", "Toilets of the World" (from marble and electrically-heated to outhouses), and "Televisions of the World".

It took as little as one hour to set up a family picture, as in Mali, as compared to ten hours in Kuwait. In Israel, it took several days to build a platform to raise the family to their apartment building window.

Did some families seem ashamed of their meagre possessions? Mr. Menzel replied: "We photographed in poor countries, but the families were not poor people. They were statistically average so they did not feel their situation in that way. You might think the Ethiopians, for example, are poor, but they don't feel so. They're proud of what they have."

The Getu family of Ethiopia consists of seven members. Their modest home is 320 square feet. They own a radio, but no other electrical appliance. They grow their own food. Their most valued possession: a pair of oxen.

What is their wish for the future? To own more animals, a second set of clothes and better seed stock and farm implements. They also wish for peace in the area and in the world.

Photographers spent a week living with each family they photographed. "There was a lot of stress at times because we were asking them to do so many things, reducing their daily lives to a series of photographs. Nevertheless, we built up relationships that were friendly", he says.

Strong family values

The Skeens of Houston, Texas, have two children: Michael and Julie. Their home measures 1,600 square feet. Among their possessions are 3 radios, 2 television sets, 5 telephones, a VCR, a computer, a truck, a car and a dune buggy. They have particularly strong family values, he said, praying before every meal, but making no attempt to convert others to their Baptist beliefs. They, too, wanted security—financial as well as physical—more leisure time, and a better education for their children.

"The encouraging thing", the photographer says, "is that people who agreed to take part in this project embraced the idea of sharing their lives with the rest of the world. They knew they were going to make some sacrifices, but they thought, for the greater good, we'll open up our lives to show what we have so that other people can learn from us and we, in turn, can learn from them. That's the point of the whole project."

When asked for a common denominator among all the families interviewed, Mr. Menzel replies that the answer is easy: they all considered their family as their most precious possession. ■

"Material World" is a Sierra Club Book. Available in hardcover, 256 pages, 359 color photographs—$30.00. To order at 15% discount, call Woodford Publishing, 1-800-359-3373; CD-ROM produced by StarPress Multimedia, 1-800-782-7944.

Cocaine's Latest Victim:
'The Waters Run Red'

By Greg Gatja

Above, extensive land damage from "slash and burn" on the sloping mountain sides to prepare for new coca crops.

At right, a typical "pozo pit", erected on a stream, which serves both as a constant water supply for cocaine base processing and a convenient dump site for spent chemicals. Note the chemical barrel at the water's edge.

From a fixed wing aircraft, Peruvian anti-narcotic officers track a winding stream through the mountain jungles. Through the rain forest canopy, they watch for a change in the water's natural tint. "When it starts running red", one of them says, "you know you're getting close."

By most accounts the cocaine trade has claimed the environment among its latest victims. Many experts agree that cocaine production has caused extensive, even irreparable environmental damage to the Andean highlands. An innovative drug control effort shared by the United Nations and the United States Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) has not only been effective, but has revealed new linkages between illicit drug production and environmental harm.

Across four millennia, coca has been a cultural staple in the Andes. Today, scientists say the explosion of the illicit cocaine trade since the 1970s has caused widespread damage in the higher elevations of Bolivia, Colombia and Peru. Using violent land clearing methods, coca farmers have razed 10 per cent of Peru's upper jungles and have ruined vast stretches of soil. The greatest environmental harm, however, may come not from deforestation, but from the chemicals needed to refine cocaine.

The essential chemicals—mostly acids, solvents and bases—are used first to unlock the leaves' cocaine alkaloids and then to purify the drug in order to ensure higher value. Although the amount of chemical by-products discharged is uncertain, their effects are clear. One scientist estimates that 20 million litres of cocaine chemicals are dumped each year in the Colombian jungles, while in Bolivia, a leading environmental group says some 38,000 tons of toxic waste are discharged annually in the Chapare and Yungas regions.

Nowhere have cocaine chemicals caused more damage than in Peru. Consider that nearly two thirds of the world's cocaine supply originates from coca leaf grown in a 150-mile stretch of mountain jungle in the country's Upper Huallaga Valley. Because of the large amounts of water needed for processing, cocaine labs there are often built near rivers and streams. These waterways serve not only as constant water supplies, but convenient dump sites for spent chemicals.

According to one environmental expert, the rivers and streams in that Valley "are flooded year after year with vast quantities of toxic waste and pollution". More than 150 streams and rivers have suffered "irreparable harm" and have lost entire species of plant life.

Streams, once teeming with life,
now dead, and the fish that do surv
are feared poisoned or suffer fr
genetic defects. Reportedly, fish h
been found with twisted spines
other deformities. When the chemi
are carried downstream, they threa
water supplies and irrigation system
the lowlands. Worse, some scient
believe the chemicals have
reached humans through the f
chain, but their long-term effects
not be known for years.

Scientists have been prevented from conducting detailed research, because the most severely affected areas are controlled by traffickers and insurgents. In 1989, for instance, a leading scientist was caught and stoned to death while conducting research in the upper jungles of Peru.

The chemicals most widely used to refine cocaine and heroin have numerous legitimate uses. The question for Governments then is how to prevent these dual-use chemicals from reaching illicit drug labs without needlessly interfering in legitimate industry.

In recent years, the UN and the United States DEA have led an innovative and ambitious preventive effort, co-sponsoring training schools on chemical control for police officials and providing technical assistance to regulatory, trade and enforcement bodies responsible for chemical oversight in Bolivia, Colombia and Peru.

In June 1993, the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) played a pivotal role in the first DEA international conference on chemical trafficking in Rome, with more than 100 officials from 49 countries attending. Experts from the INCB unveiled a plan for a computer network and database to make available to all countries the most current information on essential and precursor chemicals.

Recently, the DEA shared information with a UN advisor researching chemical trafficking in Southeast Asia. Also, an electric mail system devoted to chemical diversion came on-line in June, linking DEA and the INCB office in Vienna. This has enabled the DEA to share with the INCB real-time information on chemical shipments that might be diverted to the illicit drug trade.

Although these and other programmes have been successful, chemicals continue to fuel the illicit drug industries. As illicit drug production rises, so does the need for chemicals. Time is running out. Until these chemicals are cut off, the waters will continue to run red.

Greg Gatjanis is a Foreign Policy Specialist with the United States Drug Enforcement Administration in Washington, D.C.

INCB Report

Needed: Rapid reaction to a changing scene

An evaluation of the strengths and weaknesses of international drug control treaties in preventing drug abuse and trafficking was the focus of the 1994 Report of the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB), released in February. The Board concludes that the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, as amended by the 1972 Protocol, the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, and the 1988 Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances are of crucial importance for effective international action. However, there are areas where provisions are not wholly adequate to the present international drug situation.

The key to more effective international drug control is not in drawing up new instruments or amending existing ones, but by universal adherence to those treaties, and their implementation on national and international levels. The international drug control system should be dynamic enough to react rapidly to the fast changing drug scene around the world, the Board declared.

The main goal and philosophy common to the three treaties is prevention of drug use for non-medical purposes. The INCB rejects calls for legalization.

The World Situation

In its survey of the situation worldwide, the INCB—which is an independent, quasi-judicial body for implementation of UN drug control treaties—says Africa provides the most legal loopholes for existing treaties—14 African countries are not yet parties of the three major Conventions.

In Central America and the Caribbean the Board welcomes an initiative of Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama to set up a permanent Central American Commission for the eradication of illicit production, traffic and use of narcotic drugs and psychotropic substances.

In South America, the Board warns of the strength gained in Colombia by the Cali cartel despite the death of Medellin cartel chief Pablo Escobar in late 1993.

Regarding North America, the Report acknowledges that the free flow of goods in Canada, Mexico and the United States under the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) could create loopholes for traffickers.

The Board calls on the international community to help those States of the former Soviet Republics that lack even the basic resources for a drug control structure. It also calls for assistance aimed at preventing a resurgence of illicit cannabis and opium cultivation in Lebanon's Bequa's Valley.

An almost unrestricted availability of drugs of abuse had created considerable difficulties in some European cities, especially in Zurich.

The INCB notes signs of emerging cocaine-related problems in Asia, especially in the Republic of Korea and Japan.

Regarding countries of the South Pacific, the Board calls attention to the danger posed by a highly potent strain of cannabis being cultivated in Papua New Guinea, which is being sold at a premium on the illicit market.

NARCOTIC DRUGS

Assessing strengths and weaknesses

Call for global strategy, draft declaration to reduce drug demand

Faced with alarming statistics that indicate insufficient progress in the fight against drug trafficking, the Commission on Narcotic Drugs, at its thirty-eighth session (14-23 March, Vienna), focussed on evaluating the strengths and weaknesses of current drug control mechanisms and stepping up efforts at reducing the demand for and supply of illicit drugs.

To reduce the demand for illicit drugs, the Commission asked the UN International Drug Control Programme (UNDCP) to define clearly a global strategy specifying priorities and responsibilities, and to develop a draft declaration on the demand reduction, for submission to the Commission next year, with a view to its eventual consideration by the General Assembly.

Universal adherence wanted

The Commission called for universal adherence to the international drug control treaties before the end of the UN Decade against Drug Abuse (1991-2000), and decided to keep under consideration a proposal to convene an international conference to review progress made in drug control by Governments and the UN system.

Other measures cover such topics as the role of sports programmes in preventing drug abuse, the special problems drug abuse poses for women, increased control of money laundering, and intensifying efforts to fund alternative development.

Nineteen texts, all approved without a vote, also include calls for:

- Consideration at the Commission's next session of the question of the non-medical uses of heroin;
- Joint programmes between the UNDCP and the Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice Branch in such areas as training judicial and investigative personnel, and prevention and control of money-laundering.
- Support to traditional supplier countries as part of balancing the supply and demand of opiates for medical and scientific purposes;
- Promotion of multi-agency consultations and elaboration of joint action plans among regions and organizations at the global, regional and subregional levels;
- Consideration of expertise and resources needed to strengthen scientific and technological capabilities for drug control in all regions;
- Cooperation by countries with the World Customs Organization in the field of drug control;
- Encouragement for professional groups and commercial carriers active in maritime transport to become involved in the fight against illicit drug traffic; and
- Prevention of the use of drugs for non-medical purposes.

Also, the Commission placed six additional substances under the control of the 1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, bringing the total number of scheduled substances to 111.

New computer system

On 21 March the Commission saw a demonstration of a new computer system that will improve the capacity of UN agencies and Governments to share information. The system will give national authorities access to relevant UN databases, reports and publications. ■

Sports against drugs:

A decisive commitment

Athletes were asked to make a decisive commitment to protect youth from drug abuse and misuse, and disseminate that message through sports events. The appeal was made by representatives of 22 National Olympic Committees, 16 Governments, academic institutions, UN agencies and other organizations attending the International Conference on Sports against Drugs, which convened in Rome on 20 and 21 February.

Stressing that young people—especially those living in conditions of poverty, deprivation and coming from dysfunctional families—were particularly vulnerable to narcotic and psychotropic substances, the appeal stated that the practice of sports could greatly contribute to preventing drug abuse among young people by helping them cope with difficult situations, by strengthening their self-esteem, and by transmitting the values of self-discipline, fairness and cooperation which are part of Olympic ethics.

Jointly organized by the International Drug Control Programme and the European Olympic Committees, the Conference adopted its appeal after extensive discussions on the role of sports as a means of reducing the demand for illicit drugs.

Wide-ranging global initiatives for developing countries sought

Ed Linton

Wide-ranging global efforts to identify and expand sources of power to raise the standard of living in developing countries have been recommended by the UN Committee on New and Renewable Sources of Energy and on Energy for Development.

The 24-member expert body, which met in a special session (6-17 February, New York), noted that adequate energy inputs were required in rural areas to heighten productivity of human labour and generate more income. On the eve of the twenty-first century, 2.5 billion people still have little or no access to commercial energy supplies and electricity. To that end, rural energy policies and technologies should promote "a mix of cost-effective options" to make energy consumption more efficient and to better use fossil and renewable sources of energy, the Committee stated.

To supplement national plans of action, the Committee recommended "a massive effort to bring electric power to the people in rural and isolated areas" through worldwide programmes that should be in place by the year 2000. One such initiative should be based on "successes already achieved in renewable energy technologies, such as photovoltaic, wind and mini-hydro", involving the support of the UN Development Programme (UNDP), the World Bank and the Global Environment Facility.

A second global effort, to be undertaken by the World Meteorological Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN, the UN Environment Programme and UNDP, would launch detailed mapping of the potential of renewable energy sources focused on solar, wind and hydropower, as well as land resources for biomass energy.

'Centres of excellence'

The Committee also recommended that the UN consider establishing, with the help of donor countries, a network of "centres of excellence" for environmentally sound energy technologies. Those centres would focus on energy

Using the power of the wind (*above*) to provide energy will not use up energy sources in the way that wood-gathering does *(below)*.

and improving material efficiency, as well as on developing and demonstrating renewable energy sources. To accomplish this, existing national centres might be enhanced or new centres of excellence created, aimed at achieving a regional role for each of them.

During the session, Committee experts discussed papers they had prepared on various aspects of energy for rural development, including local applications in their countries or regions. In addition, a number of non-governmental organizations and UN bodies addressed the Committee on efforts and proposals in that area.

The Committee, for lack of time, did not complete discussion of other agenda items, such as biomass for energy, development of energy resources in developing countries, and energy coordination.

Seeking alternatives

Nitin Desai, Under-Secretary-General for Policy Coordination and Sustainable Development, told the experts that in order to initiate an energy transformation in rural areas by the year 2000, alternative and renewable sources of energy had to be made available. Related issues, he said, included: scarcity of energy at the local level; energy development as a source of employment; and energy management questions. The question of energy for rural development was crucial to the process of achieving sustainable development.

It was difficult to see, he went on, how a world could be described as sustainable if the energy base of rural economies of developing countries remained dependent on biomass and the use of traditional technologies, and were confronted by existing scarcities of biomass, as well as by health hazards. In India, for example, a woman who cooked on a traditional wood stove ingested carcinogens equivalent to those in five packs of cigarettes.

During the session, the Committee also analysed rural energy trends and prospects in the developing world on the basis of scenarios indicating that its population was expected to increase from 4.5 billion to 7 billion by the year 2025, with rural population remaining at around 3 billion.

Per capita income and productivity in rural areas remained low and poverty was rampant, it was reported. Income from agriculture was only $300 per capita. Numerous and often grave institutional shortcomings and the lack of basic infrastructure, such as energy and water supplies, transport and communications, contributed to the problems of rural areas.

In Africa, Asia and Latin America, 80 per cent of total rural energy consumption was absorbed by households, mainly for the preparation of food; 15 per cent was used for agriculture, trade and industries, and 5 per cent for transportation, the Committee reported.

Rural areas in developing countries were, for the most part, dependent on draft animal power and traditional fuels, such as fuel wood and agricultural and animal wastes. The concentration on fuelwood had contributed to the progressive deforestation of rural regions and a worsening of shortages of energy raw materials. In addition, considerable problems of air pollution, with serious health problems, had been created by the unrestricted burning of such materials.

It was estimated that developing countries had provided electricity to an additional 1.25 billion people in both urban and rural areas from 1970 to 1990. Despite that, 2 billion of the 4 billion people in the developing world were still without electricity.

The Committee felt that the challenge was to develop a strategy to facilitate the transition towards the use of efficient agro-technologies, as well as an appropriate mix of traditional, conventional and renewable sources of energy, in rural communities. Such a strategy would include renewable energy sources, such as photovoltaic systems, solar thermal and biomass energy, and hydro power and fossil fuels.

The Committee proposed a strategy for sustainable rural energy development, which would include, *inter alia*: development of national sustainable energy action programmes for agriculture and rural development; priority setting and capacity building in rural energy development; new directions in management and institutional arrangements; new financial and investment arrangements; accelerated development and implementation of new technologies; new international actions for rural energy development; and strengthening of sustainable energy activities within the UN system. ■

UN Photo 150180/Sean Sprague

Developing countries can often profit from the use of simple technologies, such as solar panels *(above)* which capture the sun's rays.

Fisheries Conference agrees on conservation measures

Wide consensus had been reached on many aspects of a draft agreement to conserve and manage ocean resources, Fiji's Satya N. Nandan, Chairman of the UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, declared at the end of its fifth session (New York, 27 March-12 April).

The Conference conducted an article-by-article review of the 48-article draft agreement, based on negotiations that began in July 1993.

The main unresolved issue was that of the enforcement measures to be used on the high seas, Mr. Nandan stated. Historically, intervention on the high seas had been reserved for flag States alone. Often, flag States were unable or unwilling to take enforcement measures against their own vessels, he said.

Therefore, he continued, the international community must devise ways to strengthen enforcement mechanisms for high seas resources. The Conference was attempting to develop international law to create a global right to board and inspect vessels on the high seas in support of conservation and management measures.

While the flag State would retain the primary enforcement responsibility, other States should be in a position to ensure that conservation and management of resources in their regions were not undermined, the Chairman said.

Conference debate on enforcement measures was underscored by an ongoing dispute between Canada and Spain regarding halibut fishing in the Grand Banks region, just outside of Canada's 200-mile exclusive economic zone (EEZ).

The Conference was mandated in 1992 by the General Assembly to find solutions and improve cooperation among States on problems related to the conservation and management of straddling and highly migratory fish stocks.

In agreeing on certain principles, details for the "precautionary approach" to fisheries management and exploitation had been developed, under which caution would be exercised in determining catch levels when reliable scientific data were not available.

"This Conference must deliver an outcome which provides for better conservation and management of straddling fish stocks and highly migratory fish stocks as a whole, based on compatible measures taken in areas within national jurisdiction and those on the high seas, the use of the precautionary approach, including the use of reference points, and requirements relating to data collection", Mr. Nandan said in a concluding statement.

The Chairman added that the revised draft agreement aimed to balance the rights of coastal States with those of distant-water fishing nations. It also took into account the international community's collective interests, in order to secure the sustainable use of high seas fisheries for present and future generations.

The revised draft agreement called for flag, port and coastal States to cooperate and enforce measures to conserve and manage more effectively high seas fisheries. It also called for States to fish responsibly and recognize the need for specific assistance to developing countries. It embodied the precautionary approach by which States were obligated to act cautiously to protect living marine resources and preserve the marine environment, especially when there was doubt about the viability of remaining stocks.

Under the agreement, while coastal States could exercise their sovereign rights to explore, exploit, conserve and manage fish stocks in their EEZs, they must notify States fishing on the high seas of such measures. Distant-water fishing States would also have to regularly notify other interested States of measures to control vessels flying their flag. Conservation and management measures taken on the high seas and within the EEZs should be compatible.

Overfishing crisis addressed

Urgent action to eliminate overfishing and rebuild and enhance depleting fish stocks was urged at a ministerial fisheries meeting organized by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO) on 15 and 16 March.

Nations should minimize wasteful fisheries practices, further develop sustainable aquaculture, rehabilitate fish habitats and develop fisheries for new and alternate species based on scientific principles of sustainability and responsible management, the meeting concluded.

The FAO reported that unless the international community better coped with the twin problems of overfishing and growing need, world per capita fish consumption would fall over the next 15 years.

FAO Director-General Jacques Diouf told the meeting that States whose nationals are engaged in large-scale commercial fishing have often not been able to honour their conservation and management responsibilities.

New Seabed Authority fails to agree on Council membership

The Assembly of the International Seabed Authority concluded the second part of its first session (27 February-17 March) in Kingston, Jamaica, without reaching agreement on the constitution of its 36-member Council, which is to act as its executive board.

The Assembly is the supreme organ of the Authority, consisting of all its members. Set up under the provisions of the 1982 Law of the Sea Convention, the Authority is the organization that will administer the exploitation of the deep seabed and its resources, declared by the UN General Assembly as "the common heritage of mankind".

The Convention, which entered into force in November 1994, deals with all matters relating to the world's oceans, including national sovereignty, exploitation of living and non-living resources, navigation, scientific research, dispute settlement, protection and preservation of the marine environment, and conservation of living resources.

Informal consultations on how States would be nominated to the five different categories of Council membership dominated the work of the Assembly's three-week session. Until the Council is formed, the Assembly must delay election of a Secretary-General of the Authority and of the 15-member Finance Committee, as well as dealing with issues on monitoring of activities of the registered pioneer investors in deep seabed mining.

Assembly President Hasjim Djalal of Indonesia said for Council seat allocation, proportionality and a balance between developing and developed countries should be taken into account.

The 1982 Convention and the 1994 Agreement relating to the implementation of Part XI of the Convention, dealing with deep seabed mining, defines the five categories under which members may be elected to the Council.

Group A comprises four members from among those countries which, during the previous five years, have either consumed or imported more than 2 per cent of world consumption of commodities produced from minerals derived from the international seabed area—known as the "Area". One should be the eastern European State with the largest economy in terms of gross domestic product; another should be the State having the largest economy in terms of gross domestic product on the date of the Convention's entry into force.

> “Most experts believe that commercial deep seabed mining is not likely to begin for at least 15 years”

Group B consists of four members from among the eight parties which have the largest investments in the "Area". Group C is composed of four States which, on the basis of production in areas under their jurisdiction, are major net exporters of the minerals to be derived from the "Area", including at least two developing States whose exports of such minerals have a substantial bearing upon their economies.

Group D will be formed by six members from developing States representing special interests, such as those with large populations, landlocked or geographically disadvantaged States, island States, major importers and potential producers of minerals to be derived from the "Area", and the least developed States. Group E consists of 18 States elected to ensure equitable geographical representation in the Council, provided that each geographical region had at least one member elected.

The Council will establish policies for the Authority; supervise and coordinate implementation of the deep seabed provisions; and propose candidates for Secretary-General of the Authority. It will consider reports of the Enterprise—the seabed mining arm of the Authority—and approve plans for exploring and exploiting the polymettalic nodules in the "Area". It will also recommend procedures for equitable sharing of financial and other economic benefits derived from mining activities.

Several criteria for Council membership were analyzed during the session, including simple proportional distribution by geographical region.

Industrialized countries felt that the principle should not be based on proportionality and that a North-South dichotomy should be avoided. States should see themselves as partners in exploiting the resources of the deep seabed. Although their group was small in number, it included powerful consumer and investor interests that should be adequately reflected on the Council, they stated.

Some developing countries said that the letter of the Convention and Agreement on Part XI should be adhered to. If the Assembly pursued the concept o "weighted voting", one delegate stated it would be "opening up a Pandora' box". ■

UN Law Congress explores new 'international language'

International law is more than a set of rules for States, it is a "language of communication", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali declared on 17 March in addressing the United Nations Congress on Public International Law (13-17 March, New York).

Today, however, some principles which in the past were the foundation for international society, had become "outdated or obsolete", he said. That was a result of the sudden acceleration in the pace of change and the new context affecting relations between States after the collapse of the Soviet Union, the end of the bloc politics and the emergence of new Powers.

"We must therefore, and as a matter of urgency, rethink the rules of our collective future and attempt to instil, if not a moral code, at least a minimum of legal rationality into the behaviour of the key social factors", the Secretary-General stated.

First of a kind in UN history, the Congress was held within the framework of the UN Decade of International Law (1990-1999), in order to "promote the role of law in international relations", as Under-Secretary-General for Legal Affairs and UN Legal Counsel Hans Corell put it on 13 March in an opening statement.

The multinational event—convened pursuant to General Assembly resolutions 48/30 and 49/50, in the year of the UN's fiftieth anniversary under the general theme "Towards the twenty-first century: International law as a language for international relations"—brought together some 650 participants from 140 countries: practising lawyers, parliamentarians, corporate counsel, government officials, judges, arbitrators, teachers of law, diplomats and members of academia.

Among topics considered were: the promotion and implementation of the principles of international law; means of peaceful settlement of disputes between States, including resort to and full respect for the International Court of Justice; new developments and priorities relative to codification and progressive development of international law; approaches to research, education and training in international law; and new challenges and expectations towards the twenty-first century.

UN Photo

UN Legal Counsel Hans Corell

Round-table discussions included: UN sanctions as a tool of peaceful settlement of disputes; fact-finding commissions; the role of the Security Council and the World Court in a changing world; State sovereignty; international humanitarian law; legal aspects of sustainable development; space law; environmental law challenges to the Law of the Sea Convention; and the "physiognomy of disputes and the appropriate means to resolve them".

In his address to the Congress, the Secretary-General said that with a resurgence in the activities of the Security Council and because the UN had "neither the technical nor the financial resources to conduct large-scale military operations", the Council might consider to delegate such operations to either a coalition of Member States or a regional organization.

The World Court, by resolving the legal disputes between States, could play a decisive role in the political settlement of the underlying conflict, he suggested. Also, he said, the recent establishment of tribunals to try those allegedly responsible for serious violations of international humanitarian law, like in the case of the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, was a "significant advance for law itself".

Under-Secretary-General Corell hoped that the Congress would become a "resounding appeal to those who ultimately make the decisions that affect our destiny", and called upon them to ensure that "legal advice is sought before important decisions are made in foreign policy matters". Altogether, he said, their responsibilities could be "translated into one single word: statesmanship!". If the world community was to meet the UN Charter's goal of saving future generations from the scourge of war, "arms must cede to the law and, ultimately, to the judge's robe", he declared.

Judge Mohammed Bedjaoui, World Court President, said that access to the Court's advisory opinions, which were an "instrument for preventive diplomacy" and a "barrier to potential abuse" that served to prevent conflict and deflate tension, should be extended to more organizations and States. However, regional organizations, which, in some cases, were engaged in joint responsibilities with the UN, were excluded from the present definition of the Court's advisory function, he noted. ■

Deletion of 'enemy State' clauses in Charter to be considered

The Special Committee on the Charter of the United Nations and on the Strengthening of the Role of the Organization, as it concluded its annual session (27 February-10 March, New York), recommended to the General Assembly the adoption of a resolution which would recognize that the "enemy State" clauses, maintained in the UN Charter for 50 years, have become obsolete.

Under the terms of the draft resolution, the Assembly would express its intention to initiate the procedure set out in Article 108 to "amend the Charter, with prospective effect, by the deletion of the 'enemy State' clauses from Articles 53, 77 and 107, at its earliest appropriate future session", the Special Committee reported *(A/50/33)*.

According to Article 53, the term "enemy State" applies to "any state which during the Second World War has been an enemy of any signatory of the present Charter", that is of the 51 original members of the UN.

In submitting a draft resolution on deletion of those clauses for adoption by the Assembly, the Special Committee stated that substantial changes had taken place in the world since 1945 when the UN Charter was enacted. The States in question were UN Members and represented a "valuable asset in all the endeavours of the Organization", it stated.

In 1994, by resolution 49/58, the Assembly had asked the Special Committee to recommend the "most appropriate legal action" to be taken on the issue at its fiftieth session.

Article 108 states that amendments to the Charter "shall come into force for all Members of the United Nations when they have been adopted by a vote of two thirds of the members of the General Assembly and ratified in accordance with their respective constitutional processes by two thirds of the Members of the United Nations, including all the permanent members of the Security Council".

The Special Committee, established in 1974 under Assembly resolution 3349 (XXIX), has never before recommended that the Charter be amended, although numerous discussions were held regarding amendments.

> "Definition: Any State which during World War II was an enemy of an original Charter signatory"

Among the Committee's achievements are: the 1982 Manila Declaration on the Peaceful Settlement of International Disputes; the 1988 Declaration on the Prevention and Removal of Disputes and Situations Which May Threaten International Peace and Security and on the Role of the United Nations in this Field; the 1994 Declaration on the Enhancement of Cooperation between the United Nations and Regional Arrangements or Agencies in the Maintenance of International Peace and Security; and the 1991 Declaration on Fact-finding by the United Nations in the Field of the Maintenance of International Peace and Security.

During debate, some delegates fully supported the deletion of the "enemy State" clauses and wanted action to that end as soon as possible, stating that the UN's fiftieth anniversary was a "fitting opportunity in this respect".

Others argued that the matter was "not of an urgent nature", and any decision as to timing should take into account negotiation on a possible increase in the Security Council membership, so as to "avoid repeated recourse" to the procedure in Article 108.

It was also stressed that the question of deleting the "enemy State" clauses should not be taken in isolation, but "viewed as an integral part of the broad process of reforms to the Charter" being examined by the Assembly.

As to precisely how the Charter should be amended to remove references to "enemy States", a proposal was made to: delete the latter part of paragraph 1 of Article 53, beginning with the words "with the exception of measures against any enemy State"; delete paragraph 2 of Article 53; reformulate paragraph 1 (b) of Article 77 to read: "territories which may have been detached as a result of the Second World War"; and reformulate Article 107 to read: "Nothing in the present Charter shall invalidate or preclude action already taken or authorized as a result of the Second World War by any Government representing a State which was an original signatory of the present Charter".

In its report, the 47-member Committee invited the Assembly to consider establishing an open-ended working group to review the implementation of Charter provisions relating to assistance to third States affected by the application of sanctions under Chapter VII, and bring the draft of the UN Model Rules for the Conciliation of Disputes between States, as concluded in second reading, to the attention of Member States.

As for Security Council reform, two proposals—on its democratization and on equitable representation and increase in its membership—were considered. ■

The nineteenth annual United Nations International School/UN Student Conference was held at Headquarters on 2 and 3 March in the General Assembly Hall. Its theme was "Women in Society: A Natural Balance, An Unequal World".

Talks on Cyprus continue

Another round of talks aimed at reaching a solution to the long-standing Cypriot dispute took place from 7 to 14 March, when the Secretary-General's Special Representative for Cyprus, Joe Clark, travelled to the region to continue discussions with leaders of the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities. He also held talks with representatives of the United Kingdom and the European Union. Also, in January and February, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs Marrack Goulding met with Richard Beattie, United States President William Clinton's Special Envoy for Cyprus, to discuss efforts towards a solution of the Cyprus problem.

Cambodia human rights office discussed

After talks with Cambodian Second Prime Minister Samdech Hun Sen on 20 March, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali sent an envoy to Cambodia to discuss the continued presence of the UN Centre for Human Rights in Phnom Penh. Cambodia had suggested a non-resident role for that office. The Secretary-General's Special Representative for human rights in Cambodia, Michael Kirby, after a fifth mission to Cambodia from 19 to 27 January, had formulated recommendations on the rights to health, work, education and a healthy environment, as well as on cultural rights.

UN Special Envoy appointed for Sierra Leone

Berhanu Dinka of Ethiopia has been appointed as the Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Sierra Leone to work towards a negotiated settlement of the three-year-old civil conflict in that country. The parties to the conflict are the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC), headed by Captain Valentine Strasser, and the Revolutionary United Front (RUF). Sierra Leone had formally requested the good offices of the Secretary-General to facilitate negotiations between the Government and the RUF. An exploratory mission in December noted a serious deterioration in Sierra Leone as a result of the conflict. Some 10 per cent of the population were refugees in neighbouring countries and at least 30 per cent were internally displaced. The Secretary-General reported that if the conflict in Sierra Leone continued, it could further complicate peace efforts for Liberia and have a general destabilizing effect in the region.

Three new judges on World Court

Vladlen Stepanovich Vereshchetin of the Russian Federation was elected on 26 January to the International Court of Justice (ICJ) to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Nikolai Konstantinovitch Tarassov, also of Russia, on 28 September 1994. Two other vacancies on the Court occurred as a result of the death on 24 February of Roberto Ago of Italy and the resignation, effective from 10 July, of Robert Yewdall Jennings of the United Kingdom. The Security Council on 9 March decided that Judge Ago's successor would be elected on 21 June, and on 22 March decided that Mr. Jennings' seat would be filled on 12 July. Judge Vereshchetin has been a member of the Permanent Court of Arbitration at The Hague, Chairman of the UN International Law Commission, Deputy Director and Head of the International Law Department of the Institute of State and Law of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and Honorary Director of the International Institute of Space Law.

World Court cases considered

Proceedings against Canada with respect to a dispute relating to the amended Canadian Coastal Fisheries Protection Act, as well as to certain measures taken on the basis of that legislation—particularly the boarding on the high seas on 9 March of the fishing boat *Estai*, sailing under the Spanish flag—were instituted in the ICJ by Spain on 28 March. On 15 February, the World Court announced it had jurisdiction to adjudicate upon a dispute concerning maritime delimitation and territorial questions between Qatar and Bahrain. The Court also continued consideration of a General Assembly request for an advisory opinion on whether the "threat or use of nuclear weapons in any circumstance" was permitted under international law.

NEWS ALMANAC

Decolonization Committee begins work

Decolonization, although not yet complete, has been "one of the great achievements of the Organization and of the century", Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali on 27 February told the Special Committee on decolonization, as it started work for 1995. With 134 nations, many of them former colonies, that had joined the Organization since 1945, the UN successes in decolonization would be "high on the list for celebration" of the UN's 50th anniversary, he said in a message delivered by Alvaro de Soto, his political adviser. Committee Chairman Eugene M. Pursoo of Grenada—in stating that 1995 also marked the thirty-fifth anniversary of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples—urged the Committee to live up to the goal of having the world "enter the twenty-first century free of colonialism". A number of Non-Self-Governing Territories still had to exercise their right to self-determination, he said.

Indian Ocean Committee elects officers

The Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean on 30 March adopted its agenda and elected Herman L. de Silva of Sri Lanka as Chairman for its 1995 session (19-23 June, New York). Genevieve Hamilton of Australia was named Vice-Chairman and Joselyne Lingaya of Madagascar as Rapporteur. Pedro Comissario Afonso of Mozambique was re-elected as Vice-Chairman. At the request of the General Assembly, Mr. de Silva is to consult with the United States, the United Kingdom and France, which had withdrawn from the Committee in 1992, to encourage them to again participate.

Ecuador, Peru sign cease-fire after border dispute

On 17 February, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali welcomed the signing in Brazil of a cease-fire agreement between Ecuador and Peru, following armed clashes along a disputed common border. Both countries claimed violations of a border established under the Rio de Janeiro Protocol of 1942 and the Arbitral Award of Braz Diaz de Aguiar. The Secretary-General applauded the mediation of the guarantors of the 1942 Protocol—Argentina, Brazil, Chile and the United States—and welcomed their readiness to send military observers to help implement the cease-fire and reduce tensions.

Relief workers in Sudan released unharmed

Eleven relief workers of Operation Lifeline Sudan, taken hostage on 8 February, were released unharmed, it was reported on 17 February. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali condemned the targeting of relief workers and called upon all concerned to ensure the security of relief personnel. On 30 January, the UN launched a consolidated inter-agency appeal for $101 million for the Sudan for 1995.

ECOSOC theme: African development

A focus on Africa, including implementation of the UN New Agenda for the Development of Africa in the 1990s, will be the theme of the high-level segment of the 1995 session of the Economic and Social Council, to be held in Geneva from 26 June to 28 July. At an organizational session in New York in February, the Council also recommended that international cooperation against the illicit production, sale, demand, trafficking and distribution of narcotics and psychotropic substances be a theme at its 1996 high-level segment.

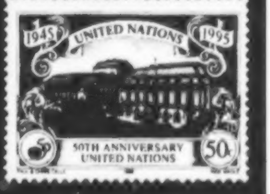
Environment bodies make advances

Guidelines for creating inventories on national greenhouse gas levels and for assessing climate change impact were approved by the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for a Framework Convention on Climate Change at its eleventh and final session (6-17 February, New York). The aim of the 26-article Convention, which entered into force on 21 March 1994, is to stabilize atmospheric concentrations of greenhouse gases at levels that will prevent human activities from interfering dangerously with the global climate system.

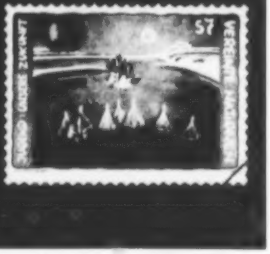
Work on implementation of the new global desertification convention continued at the sixth session (New York, 9-18 January) of the Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for the Elaboration of an International Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, Particularly in Africa. That instrument was opened for signature in Paris on 15 October 1994.

STAMP CORNER

On 26 June, the UN Postal Administration (UNPA) is to issue another in a series of commemorative stamps and souvenir sheets for the UN's 50th anniversary, to mark the signing of the UN Charter in San Francisco on 26 June 1945.



In May, UNPA issued a set of six commemorative stamps and a souvenir card on the theme "Youth: Our Future" in observance of the tenth anniversary of International Youth Year.



NEWS ALMANAC

'Our Global Neighbourhood'

A report entitled "Our Global Neighbourhood"—exploring ways to improve international cooperation and mobilize political will and public support for multilateral action, including the work of the UN—was presented to Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali at the World Economic Forum in Davos, Switzerland, on 26 January. The Commission on Global Governance, an international association co-chaired by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson of Sweden and Shridath Ramphal, former Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, the report stated, recommended the creation of a rapid deployment force of volunteer soldiers for trouble spots around the world, expansion of the Security Council membership and strengthening of the International Court of Justice.

Statistical Commission favours global system

The Statistical Commission, at its twenty-eighth session (27 February-3 March, New York), stressed that a global statistical system should respond effectively to statistical requirements on social issues emerging from the World Summit for Social Development. It also endorsed preparations for the "2000 World Population and Housing Census Programme", and approved the production and dissemination of handbooks on census methods and of training materials in the context of the Programme. Other issues considered included: industrial and construction statistics; international trade statistics; national accounts; demographic and social statistics; and measuring and monitoring economic and social development.

Goodbye, Mr. Grant . . .

Celebrating a life

James P. Grant, Executive Director of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) from 1980 to 1995, died of cancer on 28 January. An exhibition at UNICEF House in New York used photographs and texts to celebrate his life and work on behalf of children. Tsegaye Gebre-Mehdin, Ethiopia's Poet Laureate, commemorated him in this way:

Fatherless children, weep
Motherless children, weep
Like our Abadar on the sacred mountain
Like Christ at Gethsemane
Like Moses on Sinai
Like Mohammed on Al-Heira
Weep
You are today without your Patron
James Grant has just left.

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION

(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

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B. Paid Circulation	
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D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary and other free copies	3,947
E. Total distribution *(Sum of C and D)*	11,527
F. Copies not distributed	
1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	973
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G. Total *(Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)*	12,500

11. I certify that the statements made by me above are correct and complete: Alexander Brick, Deputy Chief, UN Sales Section, UN Publications.

BOOKWATCH

New Legal Foundations for Global Survival: Security Through the Security Council

Benjamin B. Ferencz
New York, Oceana Publications, 1994
469 pp. $45.00. ISBN 0-379-21207-2

Author Ferencz, a former Nuremberg war crimes chief prosecutor, delivers an indictment of modern peace efforts that befits his legal reputation. Asserting that the absence of "any impartial forum with binding authority" leaves today's global system lacking, he subsequently provides refreshing new paradigms about achieving world peace. Mr. Ferencz skillfully justifies and outlines 12 Security Council resolutions, which could be adopted within the existing UN Charter framework, to address critical dimensions of international law, courts and peace enforcement. These texts, he feels, would duly empower the Council, placing it squarely at the fore of debating issues "on the pragmatic basis of what best serves . . . the permanent human interest". Even ardent realists will find Ferencz' idealism thought-provoking, while laymen will appreciate his lively prose, containing only a modicum of legal jargon.

Reviewed by Joseph A. Saffron

The Kurdish Tragedy

Gérard Chaliand
Translated from French by Philip Black
UN Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD)
Zed Books, London, 1994
120 pp. ISBN 1-85649-100-5 Pb

Le malheur kurde, commissioned by UNRISD, now appears in an English translation that will make this concise work by a recognized expert on resistance movements more widely accessible. Gérard Chaliand's post-Persian Gulf war report on the Kurds traces their history and reviews their situation in Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. He argues cogently for action to protect the rights of minorities. "Following the Cold War", Chaliand writes, "it is now time to consider a new advance in so far as the rights of minorities are concerned. But this must not be limited to declarations. Sanctions and concrete measures will be required if further, long harsh conflicts are to be avoided in the future."

Attacks on the Press in 1994: A Worldwide Survey

Committee to Protect Journalists, New York, 1995
299 pp. $30. ISBN 0-944823-14-9

More than ever, journalism is a dangerous profession. Of the 72 journalists who were killed in 1994 pursuing their profession—a new high in a decade of reports by the Committee to Protect Journalists—more than 58 were deliberately murdered. No one has been brought to trial for these crimes in the 18 countries where the murders were committed. Under CPJ investigation are the deaths of 13 other journalists believed to have been targeted for assassination. As 1994 ended, 23 countries held at least 173 journalists in prison, another record in CPJ reporting. *Attacks on the Press in 1994* names the journalists and the countries where they face censorship, legal action, harassment, threats, physical assault, imprisonment, disappearance or death. With its country reviews and special reports, the book, like the others in the series, is invaluable and controversial.

World Employment 1995: An ILO Report

International Labour Office
International Labour Organisation (ILO), Geneva, 1995
200 pp. Sw. fr.25/$20. ISBN 92-2-109448-0

Responding to the growing worldwide concern over unemployment, ILO offers the first global review of the subject. Beginning with a survey of what it characterizes as the "profound change" in the international economy, the report analyzes the impact of globalization on the developing countries, Eastern and Central Europe, and the industrialized world. The challenge of restoring full employment is formidable. Nevertheless, the report argues, "both the unacceptability of the current world employment situation and the negative consequences of a defeatist attitude towards the possibility of improving it constitute powerful arguments for a renewed commitment to the objective of full employment at both the national and international levels". Calling for international action, this incisive review ends with an outline of what must be done.

HIV & AIDS: The Global Inter-Connection

Edited by Elizabeth Reid
United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)
Kumarian Press, West Hartford, Connecticut, 1995
227 pp. $14.95. ISBN 1-56549-041-X

"The human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) epidemic carries within it forces of destruction and healing", writes Elizabeth Reid, Director of UNDP's HIV and Development Programme. "Which prevails will be the measure of ourselves and our societies." The 20 essays she has brought together in this book give a human face to the calamitous impact of AIDS in the developing world. Most of their authors are activists in HIV education and prevention. Theresa J. Kaijage, founder of an advocacy and counselling group in the United Republic of Tanzania, begins her essay by observing, "HIV has taught African communities a few lessons, the most important one being that they must raise a unified voice and stand up for themselves, because no one else will do it for them". Herbert Daniel, a Brazilian writer and political activist who died of AIDS in 1993, writes powerfully of life and language. "I will try to build peace. By dismantling the hostile triggers of the mythology of HIV, I will try to ensure the victory of life." A brief appendix stating UNDP's insightful policy on the ethical use of HIV-related language ends this life-affirming book.

Reviewed by Professor Harold Fruchtbaum
Columbia University, New York

The United Nations and Nuclear Non-Proliferation

The United Nations Blue Books Series, Volume III

199 pp. $29.95. Sales No. E.95.I.17 (Soft) ISBN 92-1-100557-4

The United Nations and El Salvador, 1990-1995

The United Nations Blue Books Series, Volume IV

611 pp. $29.95. Sales No. E.95.I.12 (Soft) ISBN 92-1-100552-3

Introductions by Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Department of Public Information, New York, 1995

Volume III of the Blue Books Series traces the role of the UN in the creation of the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) and the evolution of the regime. A concise historical introduction begins with the origins of NPT and ends with the challenges facing the international community. The book offers a chronology of key events and texts of essential UN documents, including the NPT and the Treaties of Tlatelolco and Rarotonga, as well as General Assembly resolutions, reports and statements of the Secretary-General, and indexes. A guide to relevant documents not reprinted in the book enhance the usefulness of the work for reference and research.

In the 61-page introduction to Volume IV, on El Salvador, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali writes: "As a result of one of the most comprehensive efforts ever undertaken by the United Nations, El Salvador in 1995 could confidently be called a nation transformed." The UN's catalytic role in ending the decade-long armed conflict in El Salvador is the focus of the book's historical review. The Secretary-General's insightful introduction sketches negotiations between the Government of El Salvador and the Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional (FMLN), which made possible the UN Observation Mission in El Salvador (ONUSAL). In addition to a chronology, helpful indexes, texts of agreements and UN documents, including the report of the Commission on the Truth, the book offers a selection of the relevant unpublished correspondence of the Secretary-General, a significant precedent in making material available for study years before it ordinarily would be.

Blue Books fill a 50-year gap

UN legacy now being recorded in concise volumes

By Salim Lone

The United Nations has been the pivotal player in most of the great issues of our time. From the decades-long struggle against apartheid to the drive to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons, to promoting human rights, women's advancement and sustainable development, it is the United Nations to which the international community has turned for marshalling opinion and consensus to achieve the goals and ideals enunciated in the Charter. On the peace-keeping front, similarly, the United Nations has been indispensable in helping resolve conflict and lay the framework for democracy and reconstruction in numerous regions and countries.

Ironically, for anyone interested in researching or understanding this UN role, there has never been a central source of information to turn to. Scholars, historians or institutions studying a particular UN effort needed to undertake a major research effort just identifying the relevant UN documents. Actually locating or obtaining those documents was another (infinitely longer!) story.

But not any more. In December 1994, at the request of Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the Department of Public Information began publishing the United Nations Blue Books Series, the various volumes of which capture, for the first time, the vital legacy of the Organization in some of the foremost international endeavours of the last 50 years. The five titles published so far are: *The United Nations and Apartheid, 1948-1994*; *The United Nations and Cambodia, 1991-1995*; *The United Nations and Nuclear Non-Proliferation*; *The United Nations and El Salvador, 1990-1995*; and *The United Nations and Mozambique, 1992-1995*. Other titles appearing in 1995 will deal with the advancement of women, human rights, Somalia, population and social development.

Each volume, averaging about 450 pages, will bring together all key UN documentation, ranging from General Assembly and Security Council resolutions and reports of the Secretary-General to historic international texts. The latter have included the 1955 Freedom Charter of the African National Congress (in *Apartheid*) and the landmark Commission on the Truth report (in *El Salvador*).

Each book contains an extensive introduction by the Secretary-General, which provides an authoritative overview and account of the role played by the UN in the subject area. The origins of UN involvement and the constraints against—and the steps taken to win—a consensus are carefully traced, as are the pressures and forces that helped shape the Organization's evolving perception of long-standing issues such as development and human rights. In the case of peace-keeping titles, the Secretary-General examines how major UN missions were formulated and mandated, and the degree of success in meeting the initial goals. Each book also contains a detailed chronology of important events and developments, a subject index, as well as an index to documents.

For information, write: UN Publications, Room DC2-0353, United Nations, NY 10017

COMING UP

A preview of some important UN conferences and events

July-September 1995

New York

12 **July**	General Assembly, resumed forty-ninth session
17–28 **July**	Group of Governmental Experts to Carry Out a Study on Verification in All Its Aspects, 4th session
24 **July** – 4 **August**	UN Conference on Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish Stocks, 6th session
July/August	Special Committee on the Situation with regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples
14–25 **August**	Ad Hoc Committee on the establishment of an International Criminal Court
21–25 **August**	Meeting of the States Parties to the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea
19 **September**	Opening of the fiftieth session of the General Assembly

Geneva

10–28 **July**	Human Rights Committee, 54th session
31 July – 18 **August**	Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination, 47th session
31 **July** – 22 **September**	Conference on Disarmament, third part
28 **August** – 1 **September**	Special Committee to Investigate Israeli Practices Affecting the Human Rights of the Palestinian People and Other Arabs of the Occupied Territories
25 **September** – 13 **October**	Committee on the Rights of the Child, 10th session

Vienna

20–21 **July**	Meeting between representatives of the Secretariat of the United Nations and of the General Secretariat of the League of Arab States
18–22 **September**	IAEA—General Conference

Other locations

7–18 **August**	International Seabed Authority—Assembly, 1st session, third part, Kingston
7–18 **August**	Intergovernmental Negotiating Committee for the Elaboration of an International Convention to Combat Desertification in Those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification, particularly in Africa, 7th session, Nairobi
4–15 **September**	Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace, Beijing

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SUBSCRIBE NOW

UN Membership

Since its founding in 1945, United Nations membership has grown from 51 to 185. The countries represented in the Organization account for more than 98 per cent of the world's population.

1945	THE 51 FOUNDING MEMBERS:* Argentina, Australia, Byelorussia (Belarus), Belgium, Bolivia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Cuba, Czechoslovakia (Czech Republic and Slovak Republic), Denmark, Dominican Republic, Ecuador, Egypt, El Salvador, Ethiopia, France, Greece, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Liberia, Luxembourg, Mexico, Netherlands, New Zealand, Nicaragua, Norway, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Philippines, Poland, Soviet Union (Russian Federation), Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Syria, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, United States, Uruguay, Venezuela, Yugoslavia
1946	Afghanistan, Iceland, Sweden, Thailand
1947	Pakistan, Yemen
1948	Myanmar
1949	Israel
1950	Indonesia
1955	Albania, Austria, Bulgaria, Cambodia, Finland, Hungary, Ireland, Italy, Jordan, Lao People's Democratic Republic, Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, Nepal, Portugal, Romania, Spain, Sri Lanka
1956	Japan, Morocco, Sudan, Tunisia
1957	Ghana, Malaysia
1958	Guinea
1960	Benin, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Cyprus, Gabon, Madagascar, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Somalia, Togo, Zaire
1961	Mauritania, Mongolia, Sierra Leone, United Republic of Tanzania
1962	Algeria, Burundi, Jamaica, Rwanda, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda
1963	Kenya, Kuwait
1964	Malawi, Malta, Zambia
1965	Gambia, Maldives, Singapore
1966	Barbados, Botswana, Guyana, Lesotho
1968	Equatorial Guinea, Mauritius, Swaziland
1970	Fiji
1971	Bahrain, Bhutan, Oman, Qatar, United Arab Emirates
1973	Bahamas, Germany
1974	Bangladesh, Grenada, Guinea-Bissau
1975	Cape Verde, Comoros, Mozambique, Papua New Guinea, Sao Tome and Principe, Suriname
1976	Angola, Samoa, Seychelles
1977	Djibouti, Viet Nam
1978	Dominica, Solomon Islands
1979	Saint Lucia
1980	Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, Zimbabwe
1981	Antigua and Barbuda, Belize, Vanuatu
1983	Saint Kitts and Nevis
1984	Brunei Darussalam
1990	Liechtenstein, Namibia
1991	Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Marshall Islands, Micronesia (Federated States of), Republic of Korea
1992	Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croatia, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Republic of Moldova, San Marino, Slovenia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan
1993	Andorra, Czech Republic, Eritrea, Monaco, Slovak Republic, The former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia
1994	Palau

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*The names of countries are those in use in 1945.

UN System

The agencies and programmes established by the United Nations over the last 48 years have given it increasing competence to deal with a wide range of international problems. The list below shows when major organizations were established.

1945	UNITED NATIONS
1946	UN Children's Fund (UNICEF)
1949	UN Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA)
1951	Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)
1957	International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA)
1963	World Food Programme (WFP)
1964	International Trade Centre UNCTAD/GATT (ITC)
1964	UN Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD)
1965	UN Development Programme (UNDP)
1965	UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR)
1969	UN Population Fund (UNFPA)
1972	Office of the UN Disaster Relief Co-ordinator (UNDRO)
1972	UN Environment Programme (UNEP)
1973	United Nations University (UNU)
1974	World Food Council (WFC)
1976	International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW)
1978	UN Centre for Human Settlements (Habitat)(UNCHS)
1991	UN Drug Control Programme (UNDCP)

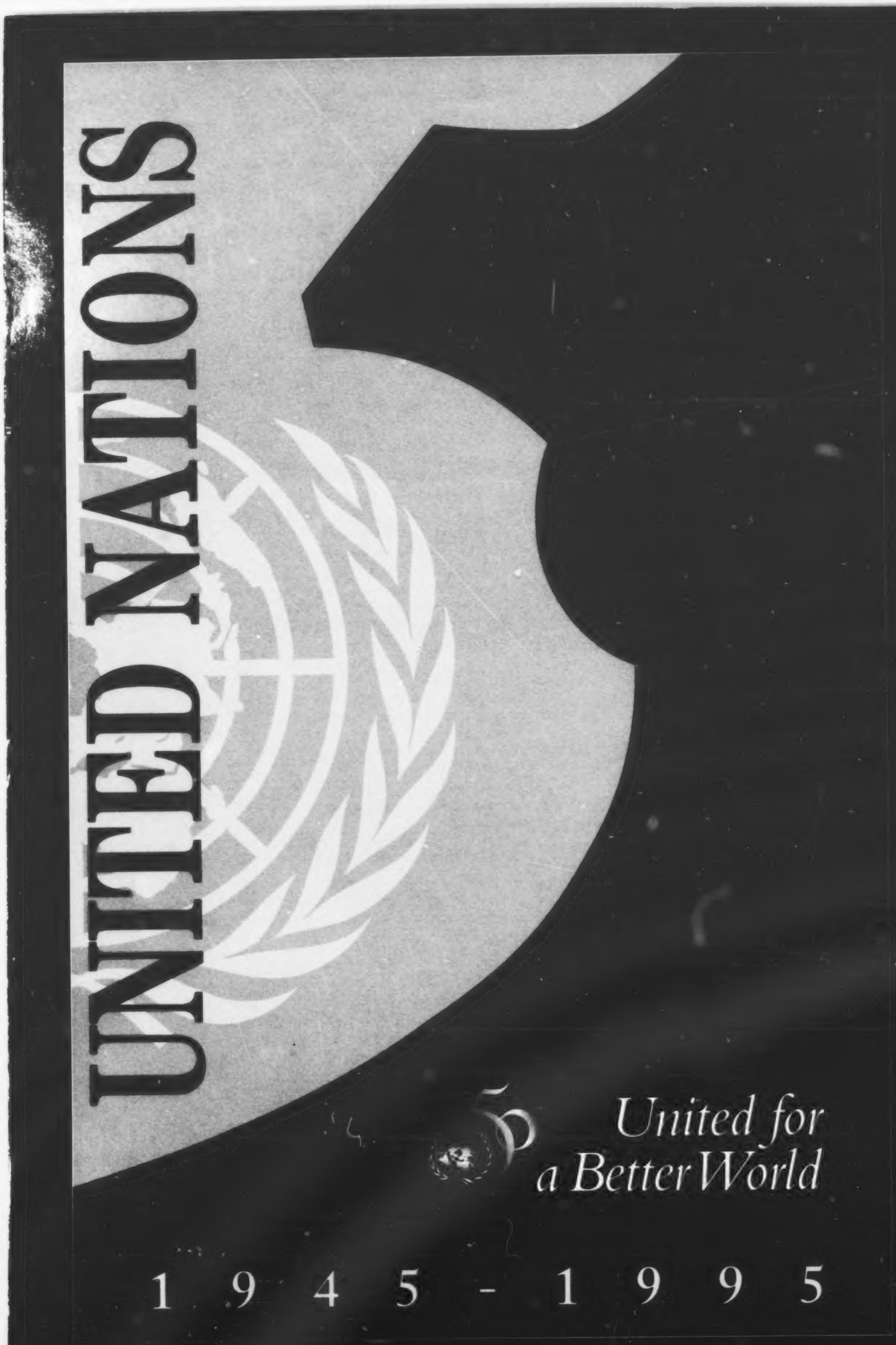
REGIONAL COMMISSIONS

1947	Economic Commission for Europe (ECE)
1947	Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP)
1948	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC)
1958	Economic Commission for Africa (ECA)
1973	Economic and Social Commission for Western Asia (ESCWA)

RELATED ORGANIZATIONS

Linked to the UN are specialized intergovernmental organizations, some founded in the last century. The list below shows when these organizations or their predecessor bodies were either established or became specialized agencies.

1865	International Telecommunication Union (ITU)
1873	World Meteorological Organization (WMO)
1874	Universal Postal Union (UPU)
1883	World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO)
1919	International Labour Organisation (ILO)
1945	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD)
1945	International Monetary Fund (IMF)
1945	Food and Agriculture Organization of the UN (FAO)
1946	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)
1947	International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO)
1948	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT)
1948	World Health Organization (WHO)
1956	International Finance Corporation (IFC)
1958	International Maritime Organization (IMO)
1960	International Development Association (IDA)
1974	International Fund for Agricultural Development (IFAD)
1986	UN Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO)
1988	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency (MIGA)



NEXT ISSUE:
OUR GOLDEN ANNIVERSARY

To herald the observance of the 50th birthday of the United Nations, colourful banners, such as the one depicted at left, will be displayed at UN offices and elsewhere throughout the world.

The September issue of the UN *Chronicle* will feature a special section tracing the Organization's history over the past five decades, highlighting its major achievements in such areas as peace-keeping, disarmament, decolonization, human rights, humanitarian assistance, the environment, and economic and social development.

United Nations
Department of Public Information